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# Handbook of the Seneca Language

By

WALLACE L. CHAFE

*Temporary Scientist*

*Anthropological Survey*

*New York State Museum and Science Service*



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The State Education Department

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# HANDBOOK OF THE SENECA LANGUAGE

By

Wallace L. Chafe\*

## Introduction

This work is intended as a practical guide to the Seneca language for those with no linguistic training and for those who are to some degree familiar with linguistic concepts and terminology, but to whom the field is not a specialty. Widespread interest in the Seneca Indians was stimulated during the infancy of scientific anthropology by Lewis Henry Morgan's *League of the Ho-dé-no-sau-nee or Iroquois*, originally published in 1851, and this interest continues to this day among a large group of scholars, both professional and amateur. The language is always a point of concern, and a number of people have expressed the need for a book of this nature. The author is grateful to William N. Fenton, Assistant Commissioner for the New York State Museum and Science Service, and to many individuals on the Allegany, Cattaraugus, and Tonawanda reservations in New York for their indispensable assistance. Edgar M. Reilly, Jr., and Stanley J. Smith, both of the New York State Museum, provided most of the zoological and botanical scientific names, and both the latter and Elisabeth J. Tooker made useful suggestions with regard to the text.

The book consists of three parts. Section I, on orthography, describes a way of writing Seneca words consistently and without omitting features that are significant. Various spelling systems have been used, and are being used, for the writing of Seneca by missionaries, anthropologists, and the speakers of the language themselves. Everyone has his own system, although most orthographies used by the Seneca themselves can be traced to missionary origins in the 19th century. Among anthropologists, from Morgan to Fenton, there has been practically no standardization at all. Both Morgan and Parker, two of the most prolific writers on the Seneca, were extremely poor phoneticians, and their transcriptions of Seneca words are far from satisfac-

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tory. The aim of section I is to promote an accurate, consistent, and standardized way of writing Seneca terms for all who may have occasion to do so.

Section II, on grammar, is concerned with the structure of Seneca words. It is no more than an outline of a highly complex subject. Those who wish to pursue the subject further are referred to the author's more technical publication, *Seneca Morphology*.<sup>1</sup>

No claim is made for the completeness of section III, the glossary. It is not intended as a Seneca dictionary. The basis on which items have been included is their past occurrence or the likelihood of their future occurrence in the anthropological literature. Even today, Seneca culture is rich and many-sided, and the author cannot claim to have had contact with all its facets nor to have examined thoroughly all that has been written about it. The terminology relating to the Iroquois Confederacy may be particularly incomplete. Vocabulary peculiar to the Christian community and the Seneca Nation's government has been almost wholly neglected. It is hoped that the section on orthography will permit accurate transcription of whatever terms are not included.

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<sup>1</sup> See Bibliography.



## I. Orthography

**“Almost every man who writes Indian words, spells them in a peculiar manner.” (Jonathan Edwards, 1788)**

This section provides the information that is needed to write individual Seneca words, and it is assumed that this will be the primary interest of the users of this book. For the writing of sentences and longer pieces of text, thoroughness would demand the marking of certain other features—for example, pitch contours and pauses—which are not introduced here. It is suggested that this section will be most valuable if it is reviewed systematically with the help of a native speaker of Seneca, who can be asked to pronounce the examples given, repeating them as often as necessary. An attempt has been made to provide forms that can be easily elicited by means of the English translations: by asking such questions as “How do you say . . . ?” The glossary provides abundant further material for practice.

Writing has as its purpose the representation of the spoken language. The system of writing used for English is notoriously lacking in consistency. On the one hand, a single spelling, like *read*, may stand for more than one pronunciation, while, on the other hand, the same pronunciation may be represented by several different spellings, as in the case of *to*, *too*, and *two*. Our spelling conventions are interwoven with related traditions and are not readily subject to change; one needs only to think of the millions of books now in existence. But with a language that does not have a long written history—and most of the world’s languages belong in this category—one clearly should take advantage of the opportunity for consistent representation of its sounds. In the last quarter century, linguistic science has made great strides in understanding the nature of linguistic sound systems, and hence in providing the basis for satisfactory writing systems. The crucial consideration is to symbolize only and all the sound distinctions which are used in the language to distinguish meanings. For example, Seneca has a sound which seems to us to be like English *k*, and another which seems like *g*. Nowhere, however, does Seneca distinguish words of different meaning by the difference between these two sounds, a difference

in "voicing"; that is, the lack or presence of vibration in the vocal chords. The *k* and *g* sounds differ only in regard to voicing, and its lack or presence is entirely determined by the surrounding sounds in a particular word. The difference between *k* and *g* is thus not distinctive, and linguists call them members of the same phoneme. The spelling system presented here utilizes one symbol for each phoneme. Thus for any spoken word there is only one possible spelling, and for any spelling there is only one possible spoken equivalent. What symbols are used is not so important as how they are used; *k* was chosen for the phoneme described above. Four symbols used here, the acute accent mark ('), the symbol ? (the top part of a question mark), and the vowel symbols *ε* and *ɔ* are not present on a standard typewriter. In typing they can be written in by hand, or other symbols can be substituted for them.

It is impossible to compare accurately the sounds of one language with those of another; but, since the orientation of this book precludes technical phonetic descriptions, comparison with familiar languages is the only available means of conveying an idea of the sounds discussed. Some of the sounds and symbols are more easily relatable to German than to English, and readers who have some familiarity with German may be helped by the comparisons with that language. However, nothing can substitute for listening to the Seneca words from the lips of a native speaker.

Seneca has a relatively small number of phonemes, as languages go, and its words can be written by using 16 letters plus the colon (:) and the acute accent mark. The letters used to represent the vowels are *a*, *ä*, *e*, *ε*, *i*, *o*, and *ɔ*. The consonants are represented by *h*, *j*, *k*, *n*, *s*, *t*, *w*, *y*, and ?.

The colon is used to represent lengthening (increased duration) of the preceding vowel; compare the length of the vowels in *wis* 'five', *kawε:ni:s* 'a long word', *kaweni:sɔs* 'long words'. Between two vowels, however, it indicates a lengthening of the whole vowel sequence. Thus, *a:ε* has two vowels of equivalent length, but each is one and a half times as long as the vowels in *aε*; compare *waε?* 'he said it,' *wa:ε?* 'he put it in it.' It may also occur between two identical vowels; for example, *kaka:a?* 'story, tale,' where the *a:a* is three times as long as the first *a*.

The accent mark indicates a greater degree of loudness, usually accompanied by a relatively higher pitch, on the vowel

over which it is written; compare *wá:ε?* 'he put it on it,' *kaká:?* 'its eye' with *wa:ε?*, *kaka:a?* just cited.

As can be seen from the examples, not all words contain either vowel length or the accent. While a word may contain more than one long vowel, however, no word in isolation ever contains more than one accent. One other generalization that it is well to keep in mind is that no word spoken by itself (outside of a longer sentence) begins with a vowel or ends with either a vowel or *n*, *w*, or *y*. The reader may find difficulty in recognizing *?* at the beginning of words that may seem to start with a vowel and in identifying *?* and *h* at the ends of words. The final *t* and *k* after *ε* and *ɔ* may also cause trouble. These points are discussed below in connection with each phoneme.

## The Vowels

The letters *a*, *e*, *i*, and *o*, with certain exceptions described below, represent approximately the same sounds as do these letters in the writing of German long vowels; for example, as in German *Hahn* 'rooster,' *zehn* 'ten,' *ihn* 'him,' and *Sohn* 'son.' The sound represented by *ä* is roughly like that of *a* in English *man*. Disregarding the other letters for the moment, note the sound of

*a* in *ska:t* 'one,' *wahta?* 'maple.'

*ä* in *ká:hkwa:?* sun or moon, *ʔoʔká?the?* 'I climbed'

*e* in *ʔi:ke:t* 'I'm standing,' *ʔi:ke?* 'I'm walking, going'

*i* in *tekhni:h* 'two,' *wis* 'five'

*o* in *hakso:t* 'my grandfather,' *ʔonó?ja?* 'tooth'

The vowels written *a*, *ä*, *e*, and *o* have a somewhat different sound when they are immediately followed by *i*, *j*, *k*, *s*, or *t* (but not with an intervening *?*; that is, not when they are long). In this case,

*a* sounds roughly like the *u* in English *hut*: note the second *a* in *ja:tak* 'seven,' the *a* in *kyethwas* 'I plant'

*ä* sounds roughly like the *e* in English *met*: note the *ä* in *ʔoʔkhät* 'I passed by,' *so:wäk* 'duck'

*e* sounds roughly like the *i* in English *hit*: note the first *e* in *sneké:äh* 'take a drink!,' the *e* in *testas* 'stand it up!'

*o* sounds roughly like the *u* in English *put*: note the second *o* in *ʔo:nekanos* 'water,' the *o* in *ʔóiwa?* 'cause, matter, word'

Two vowels have not yet been considered: the nasalized vowels written *ε* and *ɔ*. The former sounds something like the French

nasalized vowel in *bien*, while the latter sounds roughly like the vowel of English *dawn* pronounced through the nose. Note the sound of

ɛ in *washɛ:h* 'ten,' *sɛh* 'three'

ɔ in *tyohto:h* 'nine,' *tekyɔ?* 'eight'

both vowels in *kɛjɔh* 'fish,' *ʔonéɔ?* 'corn'

The vowel *a* is also nasalized when it occurs just before *ɛ* or *ɔ*; note its sound in *wæ?* 'he said it,' *káchta?keh* 'on my ear.'

## The Consonants

The letters *n*, *w*, and *y* represent sounds approximately the same as those which they commonly represent in English spelling. Note the sound of

*n* in *niwá?a:h* 'how small it is,' *ʔonónɔ?ta?* 'potato'

*w* in *wis* 'five,' *ʔosno:we?* 'it's fast, speedy'

*y* in *ye:i?* 'six,' *kanyáhte:h* 'snapping turtle'

The combinations *sy*, *ty*, and *thy* are discussed separately below.

The sound represented by *s*, except in the combination *sy* and directly before a vowel, is also like that commonly associated with the same letter in English. Before a vowel, *s* has a more relaxed articulation which is apt to sound like *z* to English-speaking listeners, particularly between two vowels. Note the *s* in *ska:t* 'one,' *washɛ:h* 'ten,' *kanóhse:s* 'longhouse,' *wasá:se?* 'war dance.' When the combination *ts* occurs before *i*, the tongue is closer to the palate, yielding a sound somewhat like the *ch* in English *cheer*; for example, *wɛ:nítsi:yo:h* 'beautiful day,' *tsi?tyɔ?* 'you stay there' (but see *thy* below).

The letter *k* represents a sound about like that spelled *k* in English as long as it is followed by *h*, *s*, *t*, or *ʔ*. Otherwise—that is, before *w*, *y*, or a vowel (it never occurs before *n*, *j*, or another *k*)—*k* represents a sound like that written *g* in English *good*. Note the *k* in *hakso:t* 'my grandfather,' *ktakhe?* 'I'm running,' *niwák?a:h* 'how short it is,' *ja:tak* 'seven,' *kwa?yɔ:?* 'rabbit,' *kyashɛ?* 'I'm lying,' *kekóta?keh* 'on my nose.' At the end of a word after a nasalized vowel, *k* may sound as if it is preceded or even replaced by a sound like that at the end of English *song*; note *ható:k* 'he used to say it.'

Analogously, the letter *t* represents a sound like that of the same letter in English, when it is followed by *h*, *k*, *s*, or *ʔ*. Otherwise, that is, before *n*, *w*, *y*, or a vowel—it occurs before *n* only

in the word **?óátnɛ?ta?** 'fern,' never before **j** or another **t**—**t** represents a sound like that written *d* in English. Note **t** in **?o?kátkatho?** 'I looked at it,' **wɛ:nítsi:yo:h** 'beautiful day,' **?o?nót?ah** (the name of the third month), **ska:t** 'one,' **tɛtwa:t** 'we'll dance,' **teotitá?ɔh** 'they have stood up.' At the end of a word after a nasalized vowel, **t** often sounds like an **n** that is abruptly cut off; note **?o?kyɛt** 'I hit it,' **?ohsikwɛt** 'rattlesnake' (note that **n** never occurs at the end of a word).

The letter **j** represents a sound similar to that written *dz* in the English word *adze*; note the **j** in **kejɔh** 'fish,' **jo?ä:ka?** 'racoon.' Before **i** the tongue is closer to the palate, yielding a sound that English-speaking listeners may be apt to interpret as the sound represented by *j* in English *jeer* (but see **ty** below); note the **j** in **kaji:sta?** 'light, glow, ember,' **ji:yäh** 'dog.'

The sound written **h** is quite similar to the sound written with that letter in English, but occurs in positions where it does not occur in English: notably after a vowel, at the end of a word, and before **n**. Note **h** in **hata:khe?** 'he's running,' **kahóka:ɛt** 'doorway,' **wahta?** 'maple,' **seh** 'three,' **washɛ:h** 'ten,' **?ohnékahtɛ:tyɔ:h** 'the water is flowing.' No word spoken in isolation ends in a vowel, and words that may seem to end in one have in reality either a final **h**, if the vowel gradually trails off through a whisper, or a final **?**, if the vowel ends abruptly.

The glottal stop, written **?**, is used by English speakers in the middle of expressions like *uh uh* (meaning 'no!') and for the sound represented by the *t*'s in *button*, *bottle*, *Fenton*. In German, the same sound can be observed between the *e* and *a* of *Beamter* 'official,' between the *r* and *e* of *Verein* 'club,' and at the beginning of *eins* 'one.' In Seneca, it occurs in positions where it does not ordinarily occur in either English or German. Note **? in ?o?éohtha?** 'plant,' **ke?nyá?keh** 'on my finger,' **?akyé?his** 'I make mistakes,' **ka?hnya?** 'stick, club,' **niwák?a:h** 'how short it is.' No word spoken in isolation begins with a vowel, and words that may seem to begin with one have in reality an initial **?**.

Several combinations of consonants, specifically **sy**, **ty**, and **thy**, require special comment. In all three of these, the **y** is pronounced with the tongue very close to the palate, producing a fricative (hissing or buzzing) sound.

The sound of the **s** in **sy** is similar to that usually spelled *sh* in English (for example, in *show*), so that the combination **sy** sounds more or less like what is spelled *-sh y-* in *wash yourself*. Note its sound in **ka?ta:syo:t** 'Stomp Dance.'

The combination **ty**, in which the **t** has a sound like English *d*, is apt to sound to English-speaking listeners like what is written *j* in English. Note its sound in **tyś:yaik** 'robin,' **satyε:h** 'sit down!' Careful listening may sometimes be necessary to distinguish it from the Seneca sound written *j*, which always sounds more like *dz*; compare the two words above with **je:stá?ε:?** 'black,' **tajɔh** 'come in!'. If a *j*-like sound occurs before *i*, it should always be written *j* (see above); **ty** never occurs before *i*.

The combination **thy** is apt to sound like the sound written *ch* in English *choose*. The **hy** of the **thy** combination actually has a sound similar to that which ends the German word *ich* 'I.' Note the sound of **thy** in **hothyo:wi:h** 'he has told about it,' **ʔo?thya:ta?t** 'they (two men) stood up.' If a *ch*-like sound occurs before *i*, it should always be written **ts** (see above); **thy** never occurs before *i*.

To summarize the points of comparison with English that the reader may find useful to keep in mind in writing consonants:

*For what sounds like English*

*Write Seneca*

<i>n</i> (not word-final after Seneca <i>ε</i> or <i>ɔ</i> ) . . . . .	<b>n</b>
<i>w</i> . . . . .	<b>w</b>
<i>y</i> . . . . .	<b>y</b>
<i>s, z</i> . . . . .	<b>s</b>
<i>ch</i> (before Seneca <i>i</i> ) . . . . .	<b>ts</b>
<i>k, g, ng</i> (if the <i>ng</i> is word-final after Seneca <i>ε</i> or <i>ɔ</i> ) . . . . .	<b>k</b>
<i>t, d, n</i> (if the <i>n</i> is word-final after Seneca <i>ε</i> or <i>ɔ</i> ) . . . . .	<b>t</b>
<i>dz, j</i> (if the <i>j</i> is before Seneca <i>i</i> ) . . . . .	<b>j</b>
<i>h</i> . . . . .	<b>h</b>
glottal stop . . . . .	<b>ʔ</b>
<i>sh-y</i> . . . . .	<b>sy</b>
<i>j</i> (not before Seneca <i>i</i> ) . . . . .	<b>ty</b>
<i>ch</i> (not before Seneca <i>i</i> ) . . . . .	<b>thy</b>

There are a few Seneca nicknames in which the letters **b** or **m** must be used: **kó?bit**, **takam**. The letter **u**, representing a sound something like that in German *Huhn* 'hen,' is necessary only in words that refer to something tiny: **niwú?u:h** 'it's tiny.'

## II. Grammar

**"Dans leur langue, presque tout est verbe. . . ."**  
(J. A. Cuoq, 1866)

This section is concerned exclusively with the structure of words; no attention is given to the arrangement of words in sentences. Seneca words are complex—most must be translated by an English phrase or sentence—and even this limited aspect of the grammar can be presented only in its broad outlines if we are to maintain the simplicity that is one of the aims of this book.

It will be helpful at the outset to introduce one or two technical linguistic concepts. The very fact that this section discusses the analysis of words implies that words are not the smallest meaningful units of speech. The smallest units, the irreducible meaningful constituents of language, are termed morphemes. Morphemes are in turn represented by phonemes, the distinctive speech sounds introduced in section I. The English word *unnecessarily* contains three morphemes: *un-* "not," *-necessari-* "needful," and *-ly*, which adds an adverbial meaning to the preceding.

It may be noted that what is represented in this word by the spelling *-necessari-* is differently spoken (as well as written) in the single morpheme word *necessary*. The stresses are different, as is the sound following the *r*. These two variants are called different allomorphs of the same morpheme. There are Seneca morphemes that have 10 or more allomorphs, some of which bear no resemblance to others which nevertheless belong to the same morpheme. Which allomorph occurs in a particular word is determined by the neighboring morphemes in that word. In some environments, some morphemes occur in a zero allomorph, symbolized by  $\emptyset$ .

Variation in the occurrence and position of vowel length (: ) and accent ( ' ) will be found to occur within many morphemes. Such variation is dependent upon position within a word, as well as a number of other complex factors, and cannot be further accounted for here.

Seneca has three kinds of words or parts of speech, distin

guished by their function within sentences, as well as by their internal structure. They are particles, nouns, and verbs, and will be taken up in that order.

## Particles

The particles are predominantly words of one or two morphemes, and there is consequently little or nothing to be said concerning their internal structure. Some of the most common particles include:

**háe'kwah** 'also'

**ha'kwístə** 'something, anything'

**heh** 'where'

**hetkəh** 'up in the air'

**hɛ:nɔh** 'don't!'

**hé:ɔweh** 'where'

**he'ɛh** 'no'

**hi:kɛ:h** 'this one, that one, he, she, it'

**ka:o** 'in this direction'

**ka:weh** 'where?'

**kaɛkwah** 'very'

**kɛs** 'repeatedly'

**kwa** 'completely, to an extreme'

**kwístə** 'anything'

**kyɔ'ɔh** 'it is said'

**naeh** (or **nä:h**) intensifies meaning

**neh** 'the; it, this'

**ne** 'it is, this is'

**ne:wa** 'this time'

**ne'hoh** 'there, that there'

**nɛ:h** 'this'

**nɛ:tah** 'this'

**nɔ:h** 'probably'

**nɔ'we:?** 'while'

**sɛ:nɔh** 'don't!'

**sɛ'ɛh** 'because'

**shɔ:h** 'only, just'

**sih** 'there'

**skɛ:nɔ** 'good, well, OK'

**sɔ:ka:?** 'somebody'

**ta:h** 'and' (sentence connective)

**tá:?'kwístə** 'nothing'



**teʔkátkáʔhoh** 'nowhere'  
**teʔwɛ:tɔh** 'never'  
**tɛʔɛh** 'what?'  
**the:tɛʔ** 'yesterday'  
**tih** 'at this point, then'  
**to:kɛs** 'in fact, yes'  
**waih** 'indeed'  
**wáyɛ:ʔ** 'isn't it so?'  
**we:ɛh** 'far'  
**ya:eʔ** 'first'  
**ʔá:hɔʔɔh** 'most'  
**ʔakwas** 'everywhere, wherever'  
**ʔasteh** 'outside, outdoors'  
**ʔátiʔkwah** 'if, whether'  
**ʔɛ:ʔ** 'yes'  
**ʔi:s** 'you'  
**ʔi:wi:h** 'I think'  
**ʔi:ʔ** 'I, we, us'  
**ʔónɛhjɪh** 'a long time ago'  
**ʔo:nɛh** 'now, at the time'  
**ʔɔkyeh** 'inside, indoors'

## Nouns

There are a few nouns which cannot be analyzed into more than one morpheme; for example, **kiskwi:s** 'pig,' **skoʔäk** 'frog.' With the exception of these and the elliptical nouns mentioned on page 13, every noun consists of a noun stem preceded by a pronominal prefix. The stem consists in turn of a noun base followed by a noun suffix, so that the relationship between the constituents can be diagrammed as follows:

Pronominal prefix—Noun stem  
└──────────┘
 Noun base—Noun suffix

The three noun suffixes are -ʔ (sometimes -h), whose meaning is simply to indicate that the word functions as a noun, -ʔ**keh** (sometimes -:neh) meaning 'on' or 'at,' and -kɔ:h, 'in' or 'under.' Their use can be illustrated with the noun base -ɔshä- 'box' and the neuter pronominal prefix ka-: **káɔshäʔ** 'a box,' **káɔshäʔkeh** 'on a box,' **káɔshäkɔ:h** 'in a box.'

Many of the pronominal prefixes consist of several morphemes, but they are not further analyzed here. There are two

sets of pronominal prefixes that occur with noun stems. For reasons that will become clear in the discussion of the verb below, one set is called subjective and the other objective. In general, the subjective prefixes occur only with noun stems that designate things like body parts, the possession of which is inalienable. They are illustrated below with the stem **-ahsiʔtaʔ** 'foot':

1. **k-** or **ke-** 'my'; **kahsiʔtaʔ** 'my foot'
2. **s-**, **se-**, or **j-** 'your'; **sahsiʔtaʔ** 'your foot'
3. **ha-**, **he-**, or **h-** 'his'; **hahsiʔtaʔ** 'his foot'
4. **ye-**, **ye-**, **yə-**, or **yak-** 'her or people's'; **yahsiʔtaʔ** 'her foot' or 'people's feet'
5. **ka-**, **kə-**, **k-**, **w-**, or **y-** 'its'; **wahsiʔtaʔ** 'its foot'
6. **ʔakhni-**, **ʔakhny-**, **ʔakhn-**, **ʔaki-**, or **ʔaky-** 'our' (*exclusive dual; there are two of us, and you are not included*); **ʔakhnyáhsiʔtaʔ** 'our feet'
7. **hni-**, **hny-**, **hn-**, **ti-**, or **ty-** 'our' (*inclusive dual; you are included, yours and mine*) **hnyahsiʔtaʔ** 'our feet'
8. **sni-**, **sny-**, or **sn-** 'your' (*dual*); **snyahsiʔtaʔ** 'your feet'
9. **hni-**, **hny-**, **hn-**, **hi-**, or **hy-** 'their' (*masculine dual; including at least one man*); **hnyahsiʔtaʔ** 'their feet'
10. **khni-**, **khny-**, **khn-**, **ki-**, or **ky-** 'their' (*nonmasculine dual; including no men*); **khnyahsiʔtaʔ** 'their feet'
11. **ʔakwa-**, **ʔakwə-**, **ʔakw-**, or **ʔaky-** 'our' (*exclusive plural; three or more*); **ʔakwáhsiʔtaʔ** 'our feet'
12. **twa-**, **twə-**, **tw-**, or **ty-** 'our' (*inclusive plural*); **twahsiʔtaʔ** 'our feet'
13. **swa-**, **swə-**, **sw-**, or **j-** 'your' (*plural*); **swahsiʔtaʔ** 'your feet'
14. **hati-** or **hen-** 'their' (*masculine plural*); **henóhsiʔtaʔ** 'their feet'
15. **wati-** or **wən-** 'their' (*nonmasculine plural*); **wenóhsiʔtaʔ** 'their feet'

Other noun stems take the objective prefixes, of which there are fewer because of the coalescence of the exclusive and inclusive categories and the lack of a dual-plural distinction in the third person. The objective prefixes are illustrated below with the stem **-ʔnəʔ** 'arrow':

16. **ʔak-** or **ake-** 'my'; **ʔakéʔnəʔ** 'my arrow'
17. **sa-**, **sə-**, or **s-** 'your'; **saʔnəʔ** 'your arrow'
18. **ho-**, **haw-**, or **ha-** 'his'; **hoʔnəʔ** 'his arrow'
19. **ko-**, **kaw-**, or **ka-** 'her'; **koʔnəʔ** 'her arrow'

20. ?o-, ?aw-, or ?a- 'its'; ?o?no? 'its arrow'
21. ?akhni-, ?akhny-, ?akhn-, ?aki-, or ?aky- 'our' (*dual*) ?akhni?no? 'our arrow'
22. sni-, sny-, or sn- 'your' (*dual*) ; sni?no? 'your arrow'
23. ?akwa-, ?akwe-, ?akw-, or ?aky- 'our' (*plural*) ?akwá?no? 'our arrow'
24. swa-, swε-, sw-, or j- 'your' (*plural*) ; swa?no? 'your arrow'
25. hoti- or hon- 'their' (*masculine nonsingular; two or more*) ; hoti?no? 'their arrow'
26. ?oti- or ?on- 'their' (*nonmasculine nonsingular*) ; ?oti?no? 'their arrow'

Many noun stems occur with both prefix 5 (subjective 'its') and prefix 20 (objective 'its'), with a difference in meaning describable as indefinite versus specific: *kasno?* 'bark,' *?osno?* 'the bark.' Other stems occur consistently with either one or the other prefix.

More complex nouns may have a base consisting of more than a single morpheme—for example, *?ojistótá?shä?* 'strawberry'; literally 'that which has an ember on it'—or may end with the plural suffix *-sho?*. Examples of words with the latter are *ke?nyá?sho?* 'my fingers' (cf. *ke?nya?* 'my finger'), *kahatak?:sho?* 'in the forests' (cf. *kahatak?:h* 'in the forest').

Some nouns have an elliptical form, lacking the pronominal prefix: *jistótá?shä?* 'strawberry,' *?ahtáhkwa?* 'shoe.' Sometimes the regular form with the pronominal prefix (*?ojistótá?shä?*) is also used and sometimes not (as with the word for shoe).

## Verbs

Many verbs consist solely of a verb stem preceded by a pronominal prefix, which may be one of the subjective or objective prefixes already discussed. A verb stem consists of a verb base followed by an aspect suffix, so that the arrangement parallels that of the nouns:

Pronominal prefix—Verb stem  
└──────────────────┘  
 Verb base—Aspect suffix

Each of these constituents may contain one or more morphemes.

Three of the four common aspect suffixes will be discussed here, and the fourth will be taken up below. These three will be

referred to as the *descriptive*, *iterative*, and *imperative* suffixes. All of them have a great variety of allomorphs, and little more can be done here than to list them. The descriptive suffix occurs in the forms -ʔ, -:ʔ, -h, -:h, -eh, -ɔh, -ɔ:h, and -ø. It indicates that the verb base refers to a continuous state with no specific temporal limits. This state may be the result of an action denoted by the base; thus, **kothéʔtɔh**, containing the base **-theʔt-** 'to pound corn,' can be translated into English as either 'she is pounding corn' (with no specific end in sight) or 'she has pounded the corn.' There is less ambiguity from the point of view of an English speaker when the base is translatable as an adjective: **wi:yo:h** 'it's good, beautiful.'

The iterative suffix appears as **-haʔ**, **-h**, **-aʔ**, **-ɔʔ**, **-s**, **-:s**, **-as**, **-ʔs**, **-eʔs**, **-əs**, **-ɔs**, **-ɔʔs**, and **ø**. It indicates that the base refers either to repeated occurrences or to an occurrence that is in progress, but will eventually terminate: **yethéʔthaʔ** 'she (periodically) pounds corn' or 'she's pounding corn' (but will eventually stop). With bases translatable as adjectives, a translation expressing plurality is often called for: **wi:yoʔs** 'it's good repeatedly, several things are good.'

The imperative suffix has the forms **-h**, **-:h**, **-ih**, **-ah**, **-äh**, **-oh**, **-eh**, **-t**, **-k**, and **-ø**. Its meaning is one of exhortation: **säkoh** 'take it out!' **sniyɔ:tɔh** 'hang it up!'

Except when the verb stem contains the descriptive suffix, a subjective pronominal prefix occurring before a verb stem is translatable as the subject of a verb in English; thus, **yethéʔthaʔ** 'she pounds corn,' **ha:kɛh** 'he sees (it).'

Conversely, an objective prefix is translatable as an object: **ho:kɛh** 'something sees him.' With the descriptive suffix, however, the functions of these pronominal prefixes are somewhat different. The subjective prefix occurs only if the stem has an intransitive meaning, and it indicates the person or thing described: **haya:sɔh** 'he's called, his name is,' **kani:yɔ:t** 'it's hanging.' The objective prefix occurs with transitive stems and may be translated as either the subject or the object: **ho:kɛh** 'he has seen (it)' or '(something) has seen him.'

In addition to the subjective and objective prefixes, there is a third set of pronominal prefixes that occurs only with verb stems. These prefixes indicate both a subject and an object, and are termed transitive:

27. **kɔ-** or **kɔy-** 'I . . . you (*singular*)'; **kɔ:kɛh** 'I see you'

28. **khni-**, **khny-**, **khn-**, **ki-**, or **ky-** 'I or we (*dual*) . . . you

(*singular or dual*)'; **khni:kəh** 'I, we see you.' Either subject or object (or both) is dual.

29. **kwa-**, **kwə-**, **kw-**, or **ky-** 'I or we (*dual or plural*) . . . you (*singular, dual or plural*)'; **kwa:kəh** 'I, we see you.' Either subject or object (or both) is plural.
30. **sk-** or **ske-** 'you (*singular*) . . . me'; **ske:kəh** 'you see me'
31. **skhni-**, **skhny-**, **skhn-**, **ski-**, or **sky-** 'you (*singular or dual*) . . . me or us (*dual*)'; **skhni:kəh** 'you see me, us.' Cf. 28
32. **skwa-**, **skwə-**, **skw-**, or **sky-** 'you (*singular, dual or plural*) . . . me or us (*dual or plural*)'; **skwa:kəh** 'you see me, us.' Cf. 29
33. **he-** or **hey-** 'I . . . him'; **he:kəh** 'I see him'
34. **shakhni-**, **shakhny-**, **shakhn-**, **shaki-**, or **shaky-** 'we (*exclusive dual*) . . . him'; **shakhni:kəh** 'we see him'
35. **shakwa-**, **shakwə-**, **shakw-**, or **shaky-** 'we (*exclusive plural*) . . . him'; **shakwa:kəh** 'we see him'
36. **shehni-**, **shehny-**, **shehn-**, **sheti-**, or **shety-** 'we (*inclusive dual*) . . . him'; **shehni:kəh** 'we see him'
37. **shetwa-**, **shetwə-**, **shetw-**, or **shety-** 'we (*inclusive plural*) . . . him'; **shetwa:kəh** 'we see him'
38. **hehs-**, **hehse-**, or **hej-** 'you (*singular*) . . . him'; **hehse:kəh** 'you see him'
39. **shesni-**, **shesny-**, or **shesn-** 'you (*dual*) . . . him'; **shesni:kəh** 'you see him'
40. **sheswa-**, **sheswə-**, **shesw-**, or **shej-** 'you (*plural*) . . . him'; **sheswa:kəh** 'you see him'
41. **həwə-**, **həwə-**, **həwəy-**, or **həw-** 'he, she, or they . . . him'; **həwə:kəh** 'he, she, they see him'
42. **khe-** or **khey-** 'I . . . her or them'; **khe:kəh** 'I see her, them'
43. **ʔakhi-** or **ʔakhiy-** 'we (*exclusive nonsingular*) . . . her or them'; **ʔakhi:kəh** 'we see her, them'
44. **ʔethi-** or **ʔethiy-** 'we (*inclusive nonsingular*) . . . her or them'; **ʔethi:kəh** 'we see her, them'
45. **she-** or **shey-** 'you (*singular*) . . . her or them'; **she:kəh** 'you see her, them'
46. **ʔetsi-** or **ʔetsiy-** 'you (*nonsingular*) . . . her or them'; **ʔetsi:kəh** 'you see her, them'
47. **hak-** or **hake-** 'he . . . me'; **hake:kəh** 'he sees me'
48. **shəkhni-**, **shəkhny-**, **shəkhn-**, **shəki-**, or **shəky-** 'he . . . us (*dual*)'; **shəkhni:kəh** 'he sees us'
49. **shəkwa-**, **shəkwə-**, **shəkw-**, or **shəky-** 'he . . . us (*plural*)'; **shəkwa:kəh** 'he sees us'

50. **ya-** or **yε-** 'he . . . you (*singular*)'; **ya:kəh** 'he sees you'
51. **shesni-**, **shesny-**, or **shesn-** 'he . . . you (*dual*)'; **shesni:kəh** 'he sees you'
52. **sheswa-**, **sheswε-**, **shesw-**, or **shej-** 'he . . . you (*plural*)'; **sheswa:kəh** 'he sees you'
53. **shako-**, **shakaw-**, or **shaka-** 'he . . . her'; **shako:kəh** 'he sees her'
54. **hakɔ-** or **hakɔy-** 'he . . . them'; **hakɔ:kəh** 'he sees them'
55. **ʔək-** or **ʔəke-** 'she . . . me'; **ʔəke:kəh** 'she sees me'
56. **ʔesa-**, **ʔesε-**, or **ʔes-** 'she . . . you (*singular*)'; **ʔesa:kəh** 'she sees you'
57. **hək-** or **həke-** 'they . . . me'; **həke:kəh** 'they see me'
58. **hɔsa-**, **hɔsε-**, or **hɔs-** 'they . . . you (*singular*)'; **hɔsa:kəh** 'they see you'
59. **ʔəkhi-** or **ʔəkhiy-** 'she or they . . . us'; **ʔəkhi:kəh** 'she, they see us'
60. **ʔetsi-** or **ʔetsiy-** 'she or they . . . you (*nonsingular*)'; **ʔetsi:kəh** 'she, they see you'
61. **shakoti-** or **shakon-** 'they (*masculine*) . . . her'; **shakoti:kəh** 'they see her'
62. **hɔwɔti-** or **hɔwɛn-** 'she or they . . . them (*masculine*)'; **hɔwɔti:kəh** 'she, they see them'
63. **kɔwɔti-** or **kɔwɛn-** 'she or they . . . them (*nonmasculine*)'; **kɔwɔti:kəh** 'she, they see them'
64. **kɔwɔ-** or **kɔwɔy-** 'it . . . it'; **kɔwɔ:kəh** 'it sees it'

The meaning 'he . . . him,' which may be expressed by prefix 41, may also be expressed by the objective prefix 18. 'She . . . her' may be expressed either by prefix 19 or by the forms **yɔtəh-**, **yɔtəh-**, or **yɔtəte-**, which are actually prefix 4 plus a reciprocal morpheme. The latter forms may also mean 'they (*nonmasculine*) . . . her.' Neuter subjects are normally implied in the various objective prefixes, neuter objects in the subjective prefixes. The meanings of prefixes 5, 20, and 64 thus overlap.

The verb structure described above may be expanded in a number of different ways. The verb base may occur with a noun base before it, most commonly to denote its object, but sometimes its subject or an instrument: **hanähtakəh** 'he sees a leaf' (**-näht[a]** 'leaf'); **kanähteʔs** 'a leaf falls'; **haʔhnyáyəthaʔ** 'he hits it with a club' (**-ʔhnya-** 'club').

The verb base may also begin with the reflexive morpheme, indicating that the subject is affected by whatever is described, or with the reciprocal, indicating that the subject acts upon itself.

Note the reflexive **-at-** in **?akatihíkwä:ɔh** 'I've put my hat on'—cf. **?akihikwä:ɔh** 'I've put a hat on it'—the reciprocal **-atat-** in **?o?kátathe:?** 'I cut myself.'

Morphemes may be suffixed to the base to add causative, inchoative, distributive, instrumental, dative, and other meanings. Causative **-ht-** occurs in **honíhehtɔh** 'he has filled it' (**-nɔhe-** 'be full'). Inchoative **-?-** occurs in **?o?kye:te?t** 'I came to know it' (**-yete-** 'know'). Distributive **-hɔ-** occurs in **hané?akhɔh** 'he does a number of wrong things' (**-ne?ak-** 'do wrong'). Instrumental **-hkw-** occurs in **?ohsóhkwa?** 'it's used for coloring, paint' (**-hso-** 'color'). Dative **-ni-** occurs in **hakhyatɔ:ni:h** 'he has written it for me' (**-hyatɔ-** 'write'). All these morphemes have several other allomorphs.

The aspect suffix may also be modified to indicate progression, continuation, past time, and several other meanings. The progressive morpheme **-atye-** occurs in **hothyówi:atye?** 'he was talking along about it.' Continuative **-ak-** occurs in **?eyéthe?tha:k** 'she'll continue to pound corn.' The past morpheme **-kwa?** occurs in **hané?skwa?** 'he used to like it.'

Another group of suffixes may add an attributive meaning to the entire word:

- ko:wa:h** 'big, great, important'; **hatíyosko:wa:h** 'he's a great fighter'
- ?ah** 'almost, kind of'; **?o?kã:s?ah** 'it's almost night, evening'
- kha:?, -ke:a?, -ka?, or -ka:?** 'characterized by, the . . . variety';  
**?okwé?owe:kha:?** 'the Indian variety, the Seneca language'
- :ono?** 'person of or from'; **tkanɔtasé:ono?** 'person from Newtown' (on the Cattaraugus Reservation)
- ke:ɔ?** 'former, deceased'; **haksótke:ɔ?** 'my deceased grandfather'
- shɔ?ɔh** 'pluralization'; **howéshɔ?ɔh** 'his belongings'—cf. **ho:weh** 'it belongs to him'

The verb may also be modified by the addition of prefixes. In many cases, the form of the pronominal prefix will then be a variant, but these variations are too numerous to be listed here. Especially common are the future, indicative, and optative prefixes. A verb which contains one of these commonly ends with a fourth aspect suffix, the punctual; this is the only condition under which the punctual suffix occurs. The forms of the punctual suffix are exactly like those of the imperative (p. 14), except that wherever the imperative has **h**, the punctual has **?**. It means that whatever is referred to by the verb base happens only once.

The future prefix occurs as  $\text{ʔε-}$  or  $\text{ʔe-}$  and has a future meaning:  $\text{ʔεke:kε?}$  'I'll see it.' Another example was given with the continuative morpheme above. The indicative has the forms  $\text{ʔoʔ-}$ ,  $\text{wa-}$ , or  $\text{ʔe-}$ , and means that the event is an incontestable fact. It is often, although not necessarily, translated with the simple past tense in English:  $\text{ʔoʔke:kε?}$  'I saw it' or 'I see it' (*right at this moment*). Other examples were given with the reciprocal and inchoative morphemes above. The optative prefix occurs in the forms  $\text{ʔa:-}$  or  $\text{ʔae-}$  and indicates likelihood or obligation:  $\text{ʔa:ke:kε?}$  'I might see it' or 'I ought to see it.'

The verb structure described, whether or not it is modified by one of the three prefixes just listed, may also be preceded by one or more of several other prefixes. Among these are the following:

$\text{t-}$  or  $\text{ti-}$  'there, here, this way';  $\text{tkâ:hkwitkε?s}$  'the sun emerges there, the east.'

$\text{he-}$ ,  $\text{h-}$ , or  $\text{haʔ-}$  'over there, that way';  $\text{heyakawe:nɔ:h}$  'she has gone over there'

$\text{s-}$ ,  $\text{t-}$ , or  $\text{ji-}$  'again, back, other, one';  $\text{shata:khe?}$  'he's running again'

$\text{te-}$ ,  $\text{t-}$ , or  $\text{ti-}$  'duplication, change of state';  $\text{tejitwatas}$  'let's stand it back up'

$\text{teʔ-}$ ,  $\text{te-}$ , or  $\text{taʔ-}$  'negation';  $\text{teʔwi:yo:h}$  'it's not good'

$\text{ni-}$ ,  $\text{n-}$ , or  $\text{nɔʔ-}$  'how';  $\text{nikye:ha?}$  'how I do it'

$\text{tsi-}$ ,  $\text{ts-}$ , or  $\text{tsaʔ-}$  'when';  $\text{tsikeksaʔá:h}$  'when I was a small child'

$\text{thi-}$ ,  $\text{th-}$ ,  $\text{thaʔ-}$  'contrast';  $\text{thiyókweʔta:teʔ}$  'it's a different person'



### III. Glossary

**“Nor is it always easy to comprehend or state with precision the shade of meaning implied in the Indian word.” (H. M. Lloyd, 1901)**

The terms presented in this section are arranged according to categories, since it was felt that such an arrangement would be considerably more useful than an alphabetical one. The categories are listed in the table of contents. The English equivalents are listed alphabetically in the index.

Each entry lists the Seneca term, variant spellings used by other writers (identified by abbreviations—p. 59), English equivalents, also followed by abbreviations if peculiar to a particular source, and a literal translation when one is known and when the English equivalents are not literal translations.

A few words regarding these literal translations are necessary. Many terms in the glossary refer to some specific cultural item, but have at the same time a descriptive meaning that is apparent to any speaker of Seneca; for example, *keʔtanéhkwih* ‘horse’ means literally ‘it hauls logs.’ Other terms, like *kaʔta:syo:t*, usually translated ‘stomp dance’ by the Indians, have historical meanings not recognized by most or all present-day speakers. That this particular term originated with the meaning ‘standing quiver’ is not apparent to many speakers today, presumably because people have ceased talking about quivers. Other terms contain features that defy satisfactory interpretation. While speculation on such items is always possible and occasionally rewarding, only those meanings which have been apparent to Seneca speakers or which are reasonably certain etymologically have been given.

#### 1. Classifications of Society

##### A. Kinship Terminology

The stem *-no:k* means ‘be (*either consanguineally or affinally*) related to’:

*he:no:k* ‘I’m related to him’

*she:no:k* ‘you’re related to her, them’

*\*akwatε:no:k* ‘we (*exclusive plural*) are related to each other’  
etc.

The system described in the rest of this section is the traditional Seneca classification, which is actually familiar today to only a minority of the older people. In the context of this classification, the English kinship terms such as *cousin*, *mother* etc., which are customarily used by both ethnologists and Indians as translations of the Seneca terms, are necessarily only rough labels, not to be understood in the meanings which they have in reference to our own kinship system. The latter system is also recognized by the Indians, of course, and the English translations are accurate for the Seneca terms when they are employed in the context of this latter system.

A few observations on the linguistic peculiarities exhibited by these terms may be helpful. Nearly all the kinship terms consist of a verb stem denoting a particular relationship, preceded by a pronominal prefix that specifies the member or members of the relationship referred to. In general, stems that denote relationships between members of the same generation, when their relative ages are not significant, occur with dual or plural subjective prefixes to denote all the members of the relationship to whom reference is made: ?akwā:ʔse:ʔ 'we (*exclusive plural*) are cousins' (often translated 'my cousins'). For most of the relationships involving an older and a younger member, there is a stem that occurs with transitive prefixes of which the subject is the older, the object the younger member: -ʔkεʔ 'to be an older sibling of, to have as a younger sibling' in, for example, heʔkεʔ 'I am his older sibling, my younger brother.' While stems of this type can refer to either the older or younger member, they are more commonly used to refer only to the younger member of the relationship, another stem being more commonly used to refer to the older. These last stems are, from the point of view of other verb stems in the language, irregular with regard to the meaning, form, or both, of some of the pronominal prefixes with which they occur:

(a) With some, but not all of these stems, only a singular subjective prefix is used for the terms translatable as 'my . . .': hahjiʔ '(he is) my older brother.'

(b) The feminine morpheme has the form ʔa-: ʔahjiʔ '(she is) my older sister.'

(c) Terms translatable with a second or third person possessor ('your . . .', 'his . . .' etc.) contain simply the appropriate second or third person objective prefix, but with the following semantic peculiarities:

**ho-** means 'his' or 'her' as long as one of the kinsmen involved in the relationship is male: **hohji?** 'his older brother or sister, her older brother.'

**ʔo-** means 'her' when the referent is female, but 'its' when the referent is male: **ʔohji?** 'her older sister,' but **ʔoʔnih** 'its father.'

(d) Transitive prefixes also occur, overlapping some of the meanings accounted for above, but with no consistent direction of relationship: **yaʔnih** 'your father,' but **həwəʔnih** 'their father.'

### Consanguineal Kinship<sup>1</sup>

Kinsmen of the same generation: 'siblings.' The relationship between members of the same generation who either have a common parent or whose parents are consanguineally related, provided these related parents are of the same sex, is referred to with the stem **-até:nə:te:ʔ** (with the duplicative prefix) 'be siblings.' Persons so related to me are, in English terms, my brothers and sisters and all my cousins in my generation, no matter of what degree, whose fathers are related to my father or whose mothers are related to my mother. Examples of this stem:

**teyakyaté:nə:te:ʔ** 'we (*exclusive dual*) are siblings'

**teyakwaté:nə:te:ʔ** [*da-yä'-gwä-dan'-no-dä*] 'we (*exclusive plural*) are siblings'

**te:yaté:nə:te:ʔ** 'they (*masculine dual*) are siblings'

**te:nə:te:nə:te:ʔ** 'they (*masculine plural*) are siblings'

There is also a narrower classification which distinguishes the relative age of the 'siblings.' One of the two stems used here is **-ʔkə:ʔ** 'have as younger sibling,' and it occurs with the transitive prefixes in regular fashion:

**heʔkə:ʔ** [*ha'-ga*] 'I have him as younger sibling, my younger brother'

**kheʔkə:ʔ** [*ka'-ga*] 'I have her as younger sibling, my younger sister'

**hakəʔkə:ʔ** 'he has me as younger sibling, my older brother'

**twatatéʔkə:ʔ** 'we (*inclusive plural*) are to each other as older

<sup>1</sup> This section follows Floyd G. Lounsbury's unpublished analysis of Iroquois consanguineal classes. The variant spellings given in brackets are all from Morgan's *Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family*.

to younger siblings, our younger brothers'—used to refer to white men

The other stem is the irregular **-hji** 'have as older sibling':

**hahji**? [*hă'-je*] 'my older brother'

**ʔahji**? [*ah'-je*] 'my older sister'

Twins are referred to with the stem **-khēh** (with the duplicative prefix):

**te:ni:khēh** or **te:ikhēh** 'they (*masculine dual*) are twins'

**tekhni:khēh** or **teki:khēh** [*ta-geek'-ha*] 'they (*masculine dual*) are twins'

**tekhni:khēh** or **teki:khēh** [*ta-geek'-hă*] 'they (*nonmasculine dual*) are twins'

Kinsmen of the same generation: 'cousins.' The relationship between two members of the same generation whose parents are consanguineally related, when these related parents are not of the same sex, is referred to with the stem **-ă:ʔse:ʔ**—or **-é:ʔse:ʔ** after an **n**—'be cousins.' Persons so related to me are, in English terms, all my cousins in my generation, no matter of what degree, whose fathers are related to my mother or whose mothers are related to my father. Examples of this stem:

**ʔakyă:ʔse:ʔ** [*ah-gare'-seh*] 'we (*exclusive dual*) are cousins'

**yă:ʔse:ʔ** 'they (*masculine dual*) are cousins'

**hənē:ʔse:ʔ** 'they (*masculine plural*) are cousins'

Kinsmen one generation apart: 'parents' and 'children.' The relationship between persons a generation apart in which the older member is either the natural parent of the younger, or is consanguineally related to and the same sex as one of the natural parents of the younger, is referred to with one of three stems. The first and more regular is **-(h)a(:)wak** 'have as child':

**he:awak** [*ha-ah'-wuk*] 'I have him as child, my son'

**khe:awak** [*ka-ah'-wuk*] 'I have her as child, my daughter'

**hakha:wak** 'he has me as child, my father'

**shakóawak** 'he has her as child, his daughter'

**yatáthawak** 'they (*masculine dual*) are parent-child to each other, a man and his son or daughter, a woman and her son'

The second stem, used only to refer to a 'father' in this relationship, is **-ʔnih**:

**hoʔnih** 'his or her father'

**hotíʔnih** 'their (*masculine nonsingular*) father'

**yaʔnih** 'your father'

**hɔwɔʔnih** 'her or their father'

**haʔnih** [*hä-nih*] 'my father'

The third stem, used only to refer to a 'mother' in this relationship, is **-nóʔeh**:

**honóʔeh** 'his mother'

**ʔonóʔeh** 'her mother'

**sanóʔeh** 'your mother'

**shakotinóʔeh** 'their mother'

The common word for 'my mother,' however, is the anomalous **noʔyeh** [*no-yeh*].

Kinsmen one generation apart: 'uncles,' 'aunts,' 'nephews,' and 'nieces.' The relationship between persons a generation apart in which the older member is consanguineally related to and the opposite sex from one of the natural parents of the younger is referred to with one of four stems. The two which occur with regular prefixes are **-é:wɔ:tɛʔ** 'be uncle to' and **-hsɔʔneh** 'be aunt to'; both are usually or always used to refer to the younger member of the relationship:

**heyé:wɔ:tɛʔ** [*ha-ya'-wan-da*] 'I'm his uncle, my nephew'

**kheyé:wɔ:tɛʔ** [*ka-ya'-wan-da*] 'I'm her uncle, my niece'

**hehsé:wɔ:tɛʔ** 'you're his uncle, your nephew'

**hɔwɔyɛ:wɔ:tɛʔ** 'they're his uncles, their nephew'

**hehsɔʔneh** [*ha-soh'-neh*] 'I'm his aunt, my nephew'

**khehsɔʔneh** [*ka-soh'-neh*] 'I'm her aunt, my niece'

**hɔwɔtihsɔʔneh** 'they're aunts to them (*masculine*), their nephews'

The other two are **-nóʔseh** 'be uncle to' and **-hak** 'be aunt to,' used only to refer to the older member of the relationship:

**hakhnóʔseh** 'my uncle'

**yanóʔseh** 'your uncle'

**shakónoʔseh** 'her uncle'

**honóʔseh** 'his or her uncle'

**ʔake:hak** [*ah-ga'-huc*] 'my aunt'

**ya:hak** 'your aunt (*said to a man*)'

**ʔesa:hak** 'your aunt (*said to a woman*)'

**hɔwɔ:hak** 'his aunt or aunts'

**ho:hak** 'his aunt'

**ʔo:hak** 'her aunt'

Kinsmen two generations apart: 'grandparents' and 'grandchildren.' The relationship between any consanguineally related kinsmen who are two generations apart is referred to with the stems **-ate?** and **-(h)so:t**.

**-a(:)te?** 'be grandparent to' occurs with transitive prefixes to denote either member of the relationship, but more commonly denotes the younger:

**heya:te?** [*ha-yä'-da*] 'my grandson'

**kheya:te?** [*ka-yä'-da*] 'my granddaughter'

**haka:te?** 'my grandfather'

**yate?** 'your grandson'

**shako:te?** 'his granddaughter'

**yatatate?** 'a man and his grandson or granddaughter, a woman and her grandson'

**-(h)so:t** 'be grandparent to' occurs with the irregular prefixes and refers only to the older member of the relationship:

**hakso:t** [*hoc'-sote*] 'my grandfather'

**?akso:t** [*oc'-sote*] 'my grandmother'

**yahso:t** 'your grandfather'

**hohso:t** 'his or her grandfather'

**?ethihso:t** 'our (*inclusive*) grandmother' (*used ceremonially to refer to the moon*)

Kinsmen three or more generations apart: 'great-grandparents' and 'great-grandchildren.' The relationship between consanguineally related kinsmen who are three or more generations apart is referred to with the terms described immediately above, supplemented by the suffix **-ko:wa:h**:

**haksótko:wa:h** 'my great-grandfather'

**heyáte?ko:wa:h** 'my great-grandson'

### Affinal Kinship

The common word for 'my spouse' is **teyakyati:h** 'we (*exclusive dual*) together make up the total.' Also frequently used are **hekéhjih** 'my husband,' literally 'my old man,' and **khekéhjih** 'my wife, my old lady.' Less standardized, often facetious forms are sometimes used by particular individuals; for example, **teyakyatkætáhkwa?** 'we lay down our heads together.' In referring to another person's spouse the usual word is **né:yo?** 'his or her spouse.' The verb stem **-hyo:?** 'be man and wife' occurs regularly with the reciprocal in such words as **yata:thyo:?** 'he and his wife.' There is also a noun stem **-nóhkwa?** found in

**kanóhkwa?** 'married couple,' **honóhkwa?** 'his wife,' **konóhkwa?** 'her husband.'

Kinsmen of the same generation: 'brothers-in-law' and 'sisters-in-law.' The relationship between affinally related kinsmen of the same generation is referred to with three different stems: **-a(:)tyoh**, **-ä?ni:e?**, and **-a(:)nyeh**. The differences in meaning between these stems are not entirely clear, since the terms are little used today, and Morgan's information is somewhat confusing. The following is based on Morgan, with alternative meanings from present-day speakers given in the footnotes.

**-a(:)tyoh** is used when the kinsmen are of the same sex:<sup>1</sup>

**?akya:tyoh** [*ah-ge-äh'-ne-o* (?)] 'we (*exclusive dual*) are brothers-in-law or sisters-in-law, my brother-in-law (*said by a man*), my sister-in-law (*said by a woman*)'

**yatyoh** 'your brother-in-law (*said to a man*), your sister-in-law (*said to a woman*)'

**-ä?ni:e?** is used by a man to refer to a woman:

**?akä?ni:e?** [*ah-ge-ah'-ne-ah*] 'my sister-in-law' (*said by a man*)

**-a(:)nyeh** seems to have the same meaning<sup>2</sup> and is not given by Morgan:

**?akya:nyeh** 'my sister-in-law'

Morgan gives in addition the terms **ha-yă'-o** and **ka-yă'-o**, used respectively by a woman to refer to a man and vice versa. Perhaps these are **heyéó?** 'I set him down' and **kheyéó?** 'I set her down.'

Another stem which indicates an affinal relationship between members of the same generation is **-atəno:ɔ?**. This, however, is used to refer to the relationship between sets of parents who are related through the marriage of their children:

**?akwatəno:ɔ?** 'we are parents-in-law of the same couple'

Kinsmen one generation apart: 'parents-in-law' and 'children-in-law.' The relationship between affinally related kinsmen a generation apart is referred to with the stems **-e:hɔ:s**, **-ne:hɔ:s**, and **-sa?**.

**-e:hɔ:s** is used reciprocally to refer to the relationship between a son-in-law and his parents-in-law:

**?akhne:hɔ:s** [*oc-na'-hose*] 'we (*exclusive dual*) are related as

<sup>1</sup> But current evidence suggests that it is used when at least one of the kinsmen is male.

<sup>2</sup> Or else it is used only to refer to a female kinsman.

son-in-law to parent-in-law'

**?akwe:hɔ:s** 'we (*exclusive plural*) ...'

**-ne(:)hɔ:s** 'have as son-in-law' occurs with transitive prefixes and the reciprocal prefix:

**shakhnínehɔ:s** 'our son-in-law'

**yatáhnehɔ:s** 'he or she and his or her son-in-law'

**-sa?** 'have as daughter-in-law' occurs with transitive prefixes to refer to either member of this relationship:

**khe:sa?** [*ka'-sä*] 'my daughter-in-law'

**she:sa?** 'your daughter-in-law'

**hake:sa?** [*hä-ga'-sä*] 'my father-in-law' (*said by a woman*)

**?ake:sa?** [*on-ga'-sä*] 'my mother-in-law' (*said by a woman*)

**kosa?** 'her daughter-in-law'

The stems **-no:?** and **-nɔ?is** are used in referring to a step-parent-stepchild relationship.

**-no:?** 'have as stepchild' occurs with transitive prefixes to denote either member of this relationship, but more commonly refers to the younger:

**he:no:?** [*ha'-no*] 'my stepson'

**khe:no:?** [*ka'-no*] 'my stepdaughter'

**hakhno:?** 'my stepfather'

**hɔwɔ:no:?** 'her, their stepson'

**-nɔ?is** 'be stepparent to' occurs with irregular prefixes and refers only to the older member of the relationship:

**hakhnɔ?is** [*hoc-no'-ese*] 'my stepfather'

**?akhnɔ?is** [*oc-no'-ese*] 'my stepmother'

**honɔ?is** 'his stepfather or stepmother, her stepfather'

**?onɔ?is** 'her stepmother'

## B. Other Social Classifications

### The Family

The noun stem **-(h/):waji:yä?** 'family' occurs with subjective pronominal prefixes and is used now to refer to the kinsmen with whom one resides, although historical sources indicate that it earlier referred to a matrilineage:<sup>1</sup>

**khwaji:yä?** 'my family'

**ha:waji:yä?** 'his family'

**ye:waji:yä?** 'her family'

<sup>1</sup> See J. N. B. Hewitt, *Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report* 21, p. 255, footnote a (1903).



### Clans

The word for 'clan' ('tribe'—LHM) is **kaʔsä:teʔ**; with the distributive morpheme, **kaʔsä:te:nyɔʔ** 'the clans.' The morpheme **-ʔsä:-** 'clan' is found in numerous other words.

The names of the eight matrilineal clans are listed below with the pronominal prefixes denoting 'they are members of the . . . clan.' With the exception of the Turtle Clan, the names bear no relation to the common names of the respective animals, although Morgan listed principally the latter.

**hotijɔnʔka:ʔ** 'they are Bears'

**honótha:yɔ:nih** 'they are Wolves,' often simply **thá:yɔ:nih**

[*tor-yoh'-ne*—LHM]

**hatínyahte:h** 'they are Turtles'

**hotíkeʔke:ka:ʔ** 'they are Beavers'

**hotí:nyɔkwaiyoʔ** 'they are Deer'

**hotíswɛʔkaiyoʔ** 'they are Hawks'

**hotíʔnehsi:yoʔ** 'they are Snipes'

**honótáɛʔɔ:ka:ʔ** or **hotítáɛʔɔ:ka:ʔ** 'they are Herons'

There is also a term for the members of 'my father's clan': **ʔakatóní:onoʔ**, literally 'the people from whom I have grown, who engendered me.'

### Moieties

The two moieties are not named. In Reservation English they are usually referred to as 'sides.' The first four clans listed above are sometimes called 'the animal side,' the last four 'the bird side.' The members of the same moiety share a relationship expressed by the stem **-ate:nótyɔʔshɔʔ**, an expansion of the base that means 'to be brothers and sisters,' while the relationship between the members of opposite moieties is expressed by the stem **-ä:ʔse:shɛʔ**, an expansion of the base that means 'to be cousins': **ʔakwate:nótyɔʔshɔʔ** 'we (*exclusive plural*) belong to the same moiety'

**honóte:nótyɔʔshɔʔ** 'they (*masculine*) belong to the same moiety'

**ʔɔkwä:ʔsésheʔ** 'we belong to opposite moieties'

**hone:ʔsésheʔ** 'they belong to opposite moieties'

### Nations

The term for the 'Six Nations' is **ye:iʔ níonoɛjake:h**, literally 'six lands.'

### Grouping by Age and Sex

A community may be further thought of as divided into the following four classes of people:

**yeksá?shó?ǎh** or **hatiksa?shó?ǎh** 'the children'

**wenǎshó?ǎh** 'the women'

**hotiske?ékehtǎh** 'the warriors'

**yekǎhjishó?ǎh** or **hatikǎhjǎshó?ǎh** 'the old people'

The women, as a group, may also be referred to as **?akhíno?ǎh**, literally 'our mothers.'

### C. Functionaries

#### Longhouse Officials

Members of the longhouse community are called **kanǎhseské:ǎno?** 'longhouse people.' Their principal appointed officials are **honǎti:ǎt** 'Faith Keepers' (WNF), 'head ones, fire keepers' (RE), literally 'appointed ones.' A single 'Faith Keeper' is a **hotí:ǎt** if a man, a **kotí:ǎt** if a woman. At Allegany and Cattaraugus there are particular 'Faith Keepers' who have more authority than the others. They may be called **hatíhsenowaneh** 'chiefs' (see Civil Officials below) or, at Cattaraugus, **?óetǎshó?** 'head ones.' A head woman at Cattaraugus may be called **kotókestǎh** 'she keeps it straight.' At Allegany there are two male 'Faith Keepers' with special duties who are known as **honǎti:wáke:ǎ?** 'Wampum Keepers,' literally 'they peddle the message.' A single 'Wampum Keeper' is called **hoti:waké:ǎ?**.

#### Civil Officials

Civil leaders at Cattaraugus are called **teyǎkhiya?towéhtanih** 'they deliberate for us,' **kowanǎ?ta?** 'great one,' or **hakyá?tanǎh** 'he watches over me.'

At Tonawanda the chief system described by Morgan is retained. A chief (or sachem) is called **hahsenowa:neh** 'his name is great.' Other, less common, designations are:

**hoya:ne:h**, literally 'he is of noble lineage'

**kaktéákwani:yo?**, literally 'the main root'

**teyǎtǎejayáshǎhkwa?**, literally 'serving the fame of the nation'

A subchief, or person next in line for the chief's title, may be called:

**sho:nǎ?ne:t**, literally 'he's next in line'

**ʔoktéäʔké ha:at**, literally 'he's standing on the root over there'  
**heətanəh**, literally 'he watches over the tree'

A third-level chief (or "messenger") is called **té:hta:s**, literally 'he runs.'

The eight chief titles held by the Seneca are:

**kanyotaiyoʔ** or **skanyotaiyoʔ** 'Handsome Lake'

**tsaʔtekéye:s** or **shaʔtekéye:s** 'even with the sky' or 'skies equal in length'

**shokéʔjo:wa:ʔ** 'he of the large forehead'

**kaʔnokaeh** (apparently containing the morpheme which means 'arrow')

**níshanye:neʔt** 'the two of them staggered' (elliptical)

**shatyenəwəʔs** 'he who helps' (elliptical)

**kanəhki:ʔtawiʔ** (perhaps with a meaning that involved 'frying')

**to:nihokā:ʔweh** (apparently containing a verb stem that means 'open')

## 2. Communal Activities

### A. Calendrical Ceremonies

The annual ceremonies held in or centering at the longhouse are variously referred to in English as 'festivals' (LHM), 'ceremonies' (WNF), 'dances' or 'doings' (RE). The individual ceremonies are referred to in Seneca with the following terms:

**kaiwanəskwáʔko:wa:h** [*gi'-ye-wä-no-us-quä-go-wä*—LHM]

'Midwinter or New Year's Ceremony.' This word has the suffix **-ko:wa:h** 'great, important' added to **kaiwanəskwaʔ**, a form that is not now recognized as a word, but that seems etymologically to have meant 'the matter used to be difficult,' possibly with reference to 'dream guessing.'

**kanéʔyasʔə:ʔ** (identical with the preceding). The verb base **-neʔy-** 'have the Midwinter Ceremony' may occur with various prefixes and suffixes; for example, **hotíneʔyas** 'they are having the Midwinter Ceremony,' **ʔəkwaneʔyáhseʔ** 'we are going to have the Midwinter Ceremony.'

**ta:tinó:nyc wahtaʔ** 'Maple or Sap Ceremony,' literally 'they are thankful for the maple.' This and many of the following terms may occur with various prefixes and suffixes; for example **təətinó:nyc:ʔ wahtaʔ** 'they will be thankful for the maple, will have the Maple Ceremony.'

- ta:tinó:nyo kahataye?** (identical with the preceding), literally 'they are thankful for the forest'
- henótsiskóá?** (identical with the two preceding), literally 'they put mush in water'; that is, 'they boil mush'
- ta:tinó:nyo kǎ:hkwa:?** 'Sun Ceremony,' literally 'they are thankful for the sun'
- tó:wótínó:nyo hatiwenotatyé?s** 'Thunder Ceremony,' literally 'they thank them, the Thunderers'
- hówtiyenókóhtani hatiwenotatyé?s** (identical with the preceding), literally 'they put in a song for them, the Thunderers'
- wasá:se?** (identical with the two preceding), literally 'War Dance,' a component of the ceremony (cf. p. 31)
- henóhne:kwa?syóá?** or **henóhne:kwa?syóá?** 'Seed or Planting Ceremony,' literally 'they put seeds in water,' evidently with reference to soaking the seeds before planting.
- ʔata:yéoo?** 'Strawberry Ceremony,' literally 'the gathering of berries'
- henóta:yé:es** (identical with the preceding), literally 'they gather berries'
- henóta:yo:s** or **henóta:yóá?** (identical with the preceding), literally 'they put berries in water'
- henótekwa?séoa?** 'Bean or String Bean Ceremony,' literally 'they put (string) beans in water'
- ʔatekhwéoo?** 'Green Corn Ceremony,' literally 'the gathering of food'
- henótekhwé:es** (identical with the preceding), literally 'they gather food'
- ʔathähkwéoo?** 'Harvest or Bread Ceremony,' literally 'the gathering of bread'
- henóthähkwé:es** (identical with the preceding), literally 'they gather bread'

## B. Terms Associated with the Calendrical Ceremonies

### The Four Rituals

The **ke:i niyóíwa:ke:h** 'Four Rituals' ('Four Sacred Ceremonies'—WNF) prescribed by the Creator are:

1. **ʔostówǎʔko:wa:h** [*o-sto-weh'-go-wǎ*—LHM] 'Great Feather Dance'
- kanonyowa:nēh** (identical with the preceding), literally 'big dance'

2. **konéooʔ** [*gü-na'-o-uh*—LHM] 'Thanksgiving, Skin, or Drum Dance,' 'Worship Dance' (RE)
3. **ʔato:weʔ** [*ah-do'-weh*—LHM] 'Personal Chant'  
**hato:thaʔ** 'he is singing ʔato:weʔ'  
**henótšishethaʔ** 'they are accompanying ʔato:weʔ' (saying heʔ, heʔ, heʔ in rhythm)
4. **kajéʔkekha:ʔ** 'Bowl, Dish, or Peach Stone Game,' literally 'characterized by a bowl'  
**kane:hwéʔko:wa:h** (identical with the preceding)  
**kayetowa:neh** (identical with the two preceding), literally 'big game'  
**kajeʔ** 'bowl'  
**kaskéʔeʔ** [*gus-kü'-eh*—LHM] 'peach stone'

### Songs and Dances

- wasaseʔ** [*wä-sä-seh*—LHM] 'War Dance' ('Sioux War Dance'—LHM)
- waeneníʔje:ʔ** 'they do the War Dance' (with reference to the dance step of the preceding)
- waʔénəʔe:ʔ** [*wä-a-no'-a*—LHM] 'Striking a Stick' ('Sun Dance'—RE)
- yothowi:sas, wenóthowi:sas, or thowi:sas** [*un-to-we'-sus*—LHM] 'Women's Song' (WNF), 'Shuffle Dance' (LHM), 'Sisters of the Dio 'he'ko' (ACP; see **tyohéhkəh**, p. 49)
- kanéoo:wi:ʔ** 'Dawn Song' ('song to the middle pantheon'—WNF)
- ʔé:skä:nye:ʔ** or **ʔe:hsíʔtakä:nye:ʔ** 'Women's Shuffle Dance'
- ʔe:skä:nyé:ʔko:wa:h** 'Great Shuffle Dance'
- ʔé:skä:nye:ʔ kaenəkáyokha:ʔ** 'Old-Fashioned Shuffle Dance'
- ʔonéəʔ ʔoenəʔ** 'Corn Dance'
- kaʔta:syo:t** [*gä-dä'-shote*—LHM] 'Stomp Dance' ('Trotting Dance'—LHM), literally 'standing quiver'
- teyotənəshəthaʔ** [*da-yun'-da-nes-hunt-hä*—LHM] 'Linking Arms Dance'
- kanəʔjité:əʔ** [*gü'-no-jit'-ga-o*—LHM] 'Taking the Kettle Out' (LHM), 'Carry-Out-the-Kettle' (WNF)
- kaʔnoke:yə:ʔ** 'Grinding the Arrow'
- (ʔo)jihayaʔ** 'Devil Dance, Devil's Feather Dance'

The last four are sometimes known collectively as the 'Devil's Four Rituals.'

### Other Terms

**kanó:nyək** 'Thanksgiving Speech'

**kaiwawéthahəh** 'Inserted Message'

**hatiksaʔtóaʔ** 'they are naming children,' literally 'putting children in water'

**shənətathéwathaʔ** 'they are confessing,' literally 'punishing themselves again'

**yaté:yəʔ** 'Big Heads' ('Uncles'—RE)

### C. Noncalendrical Ceremonies

#### Restricted (Medicine Ceremonies)

The following are ceremonies in which participation is, at least ideally, restricted to the members of a particular society:

**nyakwaiʔ ʔəənʔ** [*ne-ä'-gwi*—LHM] 'Bear Dance,' literally 'bear song'

**tekiyáʔkəh ʔəənʔ** [*da-ge'-ya-go*—LHM] 'Buffalo Dance'

**táwə:ətʔ ʔəənʔ** 'Otter Dance'

**kakóhsaʔ** [*gä-go'-sä*—LHM] 'False-Face'

**hotikəhsóskaʔah** 'Common Faces' ('Doctors' Dance'—ACP), literally 'they have nothing but faces' (said to be thus called because the masks lack a tobacco pouch attached to the back)

**teyətəhkeóthaʔ** 'Thumbs-Up Dance,' literally 'they put their thumbs up'

**teyə:hsiʔtatías** 'Alternate Feet Dance' (Doorkeepers' Dance'—ACP), literally 'they alternate their feet'

**teyé:nyothaʔ** (part of the preceding), literally 'they stand it upright'

**kajíhsaʔ** 'Husk-Face'

**nika:nekáʔa:h** 'Little Water'

**yéiʔto:s, yíʔto:s, hatíʔto:s, káiʔtowa:nəh, or káiʔto:ʔ** 'Shake the Pumpkin' (RE), 'Society of Mystic Animals' (ACP), 'Sharp Point' (WNF)

**kane:nyóʔto:ʔ** (an uncommon variant of the preceding[?])

**kahatiyáʔkəʔəh** 'Crossing the Woods'

**hathiati:yaʔs** (identical with the preceding), literally 'they cross the woods'

**ka:yowéəʔko:wa:h** (identical with the two preceding)

**kaənəwéthahəh** 'Inserted Song'

**teyótahsstaikəh** [*da-yo-dä'-sun-dä-e'-go*—LHM] 'Dark Dance,' literally 'it's dark'

**tewenotahsotáiktha?** (identical with the preceding), literally 'they make it dark'

**yí:ʔta:ʔtha?** 'Quavering,' literally 'they make the words (or voices) tremble'

**(ʔo)téswate:nyʔ?** [*da-swä-da-ne'-a*—LHM] 'Changing Ribs' ('Tumbling Dance'—LHM, 'Woman's Society'—ACP)

**kanéʔkwä:ʔe:ʔ** 'Eagle Dance'

**kanéʔta:ʔtəh** (identical with the preceding), literally 'shaking the Eagle Dance fan'

**ke:i niwáhsota:ke:h** 'Four Nights' (performed in Canada only)

**sawanó:nʔʔ:ʔ** (an obsolete dance)

**kayətʔ:ʔke:aʔ** (also obsolete)

### Unrestricted

The following ceremonies are open to the whole community:

**káíwi:yo:h** 'Good Message' ('Code of Handsome Lake')

**ʔéwəhsa:tʔ?** 'his funeral,' literally 'they will bury him';

**ʔeshakotíhsatʔ?** 'her funeral'

**ʔatyä:khʔ:shä?** 'Tenth Day Feast'

**ʔohki:we:h** 'Dance for the Dead' (LHM), 'Chanters for the Dead' (ACP), 'Feast of the Dead, Ghost Dance' (WNF)

**kayətʔ:ʔshä?** (an all-night dance for the dead, commonly the all-night version of the preceding)

**kahsáʔ:ʔ** 'All Eaten Up' (another ceremony for the dead)

**kanóhkwá:nyək** 'Expressions of Love' (similar to the preceding, but with an offering of cider)

### D. Terms Associated with the Noncalendrical Ceremonies

**ʔotə:shä?** 'medicine ceremony, dance, doings'

**hotəs** 'there's a ceremony for him' ('recipient'—WNF)

**hotésyo:ni:h** 'he's preparing the ceremony' ('sponsor'—WNF)

**hotésyo?** 'he has the ceremony ready,' literally 'he has the ceremony in the water' ('sponsor'—WNF)

**hastéistha?** 'he arranges' ('conductor'—WNF)

**hatyáswas** 'he notifies' ('messenger'—WNF)

**hayaʔtətáhkəh** 'he's entitled to the ceremony' (that is, 'he belongs to the appropriate society')

**yeyaʔtətáhkəh** 'she's entitled to the ceremony'

**henéyo:ʔ?** 'fortune teller' (male)

**yanéyo:ʔ?** 'fortune teller' (female)

**ta:yaʔtówetha?** 'fortune teller,' literally 'he deliberates'

**ʔotsinɔhkéʔtaʔ** 'charm'

**honɔtsinɔhkéʔ** 'they belong to a charm society' ('charm holders'  
—WNF)

**yɔtáʔsäthaʔ** 'goods distributed during ʔohki:we:h'

**hahoanósta:s** 'he guards the door, doorkeeper'

**hatiyeʔkwaye:nih** 'they're holding a Little Water ceremony,'  
literally 'putting down tobacco for it'

**hatinotaye:nih** (identical with the preceding), literally 'they're  
putting down a reed for it'

**kano:taʔ** 'night song of the Little Water society' (ACP), literally  
'reed'

**hate:ne:t** 'keeper of the Little Water medicine'

## E. Secular Songs and Dances

While some of the following are performed as parts of religious ceremonies, all of them are regarded as belonging to a more secular or "social" category than the dances so far listed:

**jā:hko:wa:ʔ ʔoɛnɔʔ** 'Pigeon Dance'

**joʔä:kaʔ ʔoɛnɔʔ** 'Raccoon Dance'

**kejɔh ʔoɛnɔʔ** 'Fish Dance'

**keɔtanéhkwih ʔoɛnɔʔ** 'Horse Dance' ('Had-a-Horse' WNF)

**kwaʔyo:ʔ ʔoɛnɔʔ** 'Rabbit Dance'

**so:wäk ʔoɛnɔʔ** 'Duck Dance'

**takä:ʔe:ʔ ʔoɛnɔʔ** 'Chicken Dance'

**tekáʔnɔ:tɔ:t ʔoɛnɔʔ** 'Alligator Dance'

**thwe:t or thwaet ʔoɛnɔʔ** 'Swan Dance'

**tyó:yaik ʔoɛnɔʔ** 'Robin Dance'

**kaksokε:yo:ʔ** [*guk-sa'-gä-ne-a*—LHM] 'Grinding Dishes'

**kanestökä:ʔe:ʔ** 'Beating the Dry Skin'

**kashéʔtota:ʔtɔh** 'Shaking the Jug'

**kaskoéstaʔtɔh** [*os-ko-dä'-tä*—LHM] 'Shaking the Bush'

**kaʔnóstaʔke:kha:ʔ** 'Naked Dance,' literally 'characterized by  
nakedness' (identical with the preceding)

**kayó:waka:yɔh** 'Old Moccasin'

**tewatsihásyoʔɔ:ʔ** 'Garter Dance'

**waʔénothi:yoʔ** 'Sharpening the Stick'

**tyɔtatenyátkä:s** 'Grab Your Partner' (RE), 'Choose a Partner'  
(WNF), literally 'they grab each other'

**yɔtatyaʔtasyonyáʔthaʔ** 'Preparation Dance' (LHM), literally  
'they prepare themselves with it'

**ʔonésheʔtɔh** 'Arm-Shaking Dance' (LHM), literally 'dropped  
arm'



**ʔoshé:wεʔ** 'Falling Belly'

**ʔoyataʔké:aʔ** 'Cherokee Stomp Dance' ('Stomp Dance, Snake Dance'—RE), literally 'cave people, Cherokee'

## F. Games and Associated Terminology

A general word for game is **kayε:taʔ**. **ta:tiyéʔ** means 'they are playing, betting'; **tá:yεʔ** 'he's playing'; **teyéyéʔ** 'she's playing.'

Names for the Bowl Game were given on p. 31. Terms for winning throws in this game are:

**ʔo:εtaʔ** (all six stones identical; wins five bean counters), literally 'planted field'; **ʔoʔkáεta:εʔ** 'it came up with all six identical'

**ʔonyo:ʔah** (all identical but one; wins one bean), literally 'almost wild'

Other terminology relating to the Bowl Game includes:

**yεsáεʔtä:kwas** 'she picks out the beans' ('bean watcher'—WNF)

**yeka:nyaʔs** 'she pays' ('payer'—WNF)

**honótkáεʔ** 'they're watching' ('referees'—WNF)

**honósteistoh** (identical with the preceding), literally 'they're managing it'

**hí:es** 'they (two) collect (the bets)'

**(ʔo)tísaskok** 'skunking' (loss of one's turn without having won a single bean)

A similar game is **kaskεʔisé:htoh** [*gus-ga-e-sa'-tä*—LHM] 'Deer Buttons' (LHM), 'Buttons, Indian Dice' (RE). The winning throws in this game are:

**ʔo:εtaʔ** (all eight dice identical; wins twenty beans if two are playing, five if more than two)

**ʔo:nyóhsaʔ** (all identical but one; wins four beans if two are playing, two if more than two), literally 'squash'

**ʔonyo:ʔah** (all identical but two; wins two beans if two are playing, one if more than two)

If a player has been eliminated but is able to pay his debt to the winner, he is told **tekhni: ʔéhséji:wet** 'you will have two free throws,' literally 'you will hammer twice.' If he is not able to pay his debt, he is told **ska:t ʔéhséji:wet** 'you will hammer once.'

The Snakesnake game, as well as the snakesnake itself, is called **ka:wa:saʔ** [*ga-wa'-sa*—LHM]. Parts of the snakesnake are:

**katkwíäʔkeh** 'tail'

**kakóta?keh** 'nose' ('head'—ACP)

**ka:néko:a?** 'lead on the end'

Other associated terms include:

**ka?wóko:h** 'trough' ('track'—RE)

**hاتیەhtáhkwa?** 'mouth of the trough' (ACP), literally 'where they strike'

**he:otyé?s** 'he throws, thrower'

**ye:wásohka:tha?** 'snowsnake medicine (wax),' literally 'they use it to make the snowsnake slippery'

**swa:kam** (identical with the preceding; regarded by some as an English word)

The Hoop and Javelin game is called either **kake:ta?** [*gä-geh'-dä*—LHM] or, less commonly **kanó?ka?o:?**. Associated terms are:

**ka?hnya?** 'stick' ('javelin')

**kanó?kä:?** 'hoop' (also 'poplar')

**?é?níka:a?** 'hoop' (another name)

Other Seneca games include:

**té:nó?eni:ya:s** 'Tug-of-War,' literally 'they pull the pole'

**tewá?ä:?** 'Lacrosse, lacrosse stick,' literally 'net on it'

**yé:hsethwas** 'Football,' literally 'they kick'

**té:né:hta:s** 'Foot Race,' literally 'they run'

**té:nótatye:nó:s** 'Westling,' literally 'they grab each other'

**té:nóhtahkwayé?** 'Moccasin Game,' literally 'they bet on a shoe'

## G. Terminology of the Iroquois League

The Condolence Ceremony is called **?atyä:khósha?ko:wa:h**, literally 'the great feast.' Related terms include:

**ka?nikósekeweh** 'condolence, consolation,' literally 'the mind is raised'

**kajístaye?** 'council fire,' literally 'the fire is there'

**jokté:sko:wa:h** 'the great long roots'

**?onähtají?ko:wa:h** 'the great black leaves'

The "four cardinal principles of Iroquois policy" (WNF) are:

**ské:nó?** 'health, peace'

**ka?hásteshä?** 'strength, civil authority'

**káíwi:yo:h** 'truth, righteousness'

**kayaneshá?ko:wa:h** 'the great law, the commonwealth'

Characters in the Deganawida legend include :

**tekanowi:tah** 'Deganawida'

**hayó:we:tha?** 'Hiawatha'

**thatota:ho?** 'Tadodaho'

**jikóhsahse?** 'the Peace Queen,' also 'wildcat,' literally 'fat face'

### 3. Classifications of Nature

#### A. Numerals

The numerals from one to ten are :

**ska:t** 'one'

**ye:i?** 'six'

**tekhni:h** 'two'

**ja:tak** 'seven'

**seh** 'three'

**tekyo?** 'eight'

**ke:i:h** 'four'

**tyohtó:h** 'nine'

**wis** 'five'

**washε:h** 'ten'

The numerals eleven through nineteen are formed with the addition of **ska:ε?**, as follows:

**ská: ska:ε?** 'eleven'

**tekhni: ska:ε?** 'twelve'

**sé ska:ε?** 'thirteen'

The formation of numerals above nineteen is illustrated below:

**tewáshε:h** 'twenty'

**tewáshε: ská: ska:ε?** or **tewáshε: ska:t** 'twenty-one'

**se niwáshε:h** 'thirty'

**ke:i niwáshε:h** 'forty'

**ska:t tewé?nya?ε:h** 'one hundred,' literally 'one strike of the hand'

**ska:t nó?tewe?nya?esháshε:h** 'one thousand,' literally 'ten hundreds'

#### B. Measurements

##### Time

The hours of the day are referred to as follows:

**ska:t jóista?ε:h** 'one o'clock,' literally 'one strike'

**tekhni: teyóista:ε:h** 'two o'clock'

**se niyóista:ε:h** 'three o'clock'

**ke:i niyóista:ε:h** 'four o'clock' (etc.)

References to parts of the day are:

**?ε:teh** 'day, daytime'

**teyóhatheh** 'it is light'

**tawetɔ:ti?** 'daybreak,' literally 'the day opens'

**tyohé?ɔh** 'daybreak,' literally 'it has dawned'

**tawé?nyaka:ε** 'daybreak,' literally 'the hand makes a noise'

**setéhjiah** 'early in the morning'

**wε:nishäsé?a:neh** 'morning, forenoon,' literally 'early in the day'

**ha?tewε:nishe:h** 'noon, midday'

**hekā:hkwa:ʔah** 'afternoon,' literally 'less sun'

**wεta:jis** 'evening,' literally 'the day darkens'

**?oʔkā:sʔah** 'evening,' literally 'partly night'

**waʔóʔkā:h** 'night'

**sɔeh** 'night, nighttime'

**ha?téwahsɔ:thweh** 'midnight'

**?oté:nisyoʔk** 'the end of the day'

Related terms are:

**the:tε?** 'yesterday'

**wε:nishäte?** 'today'

**wahsɔtate?** 'tonight'

**?eyo:heʔt** 'tomorrow'

**waʔo:heʔt** 'the next day'

**ska:t ?eyo:ta:ʔ** 'one day from now'

**tekhnι: teyo:ta:ʔ** 'two days from now'

**sε neyo:ta:ʔ** 'three days from now'

There are several ways of referring to the days of the week. A set of names used on the Cattaraugus Reservation is:

**?awetatókehtɔh** 'Sunday'

**?oʔwεtε:taʔt** 'Monday'

**swεta:tih** 'Tuesday' or 'any day after Monday'

**ha?tewεtásh** 'Wednesday'

**ha?tewεtáε ?eyóheʔtkeh** 'Thursday'

**wis watɔ:tha? wε:nishäte?** 'Friday,' sometimes 'Thursday'

**wε:ta:k** 'Saturday'

On the Tonawanda Reservation the days are simply counted, starting with Monday:

**ska:t wε:nishäte?** 'day number one, Monday'

**tekhnι: wε:nishäte?** 'Tuesday' (etc.)

There is a similar usage on the Allegany Reservation, but

**wɛ:nishätéhkəh** may be substituted for **wɛ:nishäteʔ**. Other names sometimes heard are:

**teyotɛ:nitsiyáʔkəh** 'Sunday,' literally 'the broken day'

**wɛta:kʔah** 'Friday,' literally 'almost Saturday'

**niyenəktówaes** 'Saturday,' literally 'when they wash the room'

There are 12 month or moon names. During the winter, one of them usually does service for two successive moons to make the year come out even. The first moon is correlated with the position of the Pleiades. A list obtained on the Cattaraugus Reservation is:

1. **niskówakhneh** or **niskáwakhneh**
2. **niyoʔnotʔá:h** 'the frogs are almost peeping'
3. **ʔoʔnótʔah** 'the frogs are peeping'
4. **kanóʔkat** (referring to hills for corn?)
5. **ʔoyáikhneh** or **yáikhneh** (referring to the ripening of berries?)
6. **skáiskekhneh** or **háiskekhneh**
7. **skayé:neah** or **hayé:neah**
8. **kɛtɛʔəkhneh**
9. **ké:əkhneh**
10. **kahsáʔkhneh** 'when I cough'
11. **jotho:h** 'when it is cold'
12. **nisʔah**

Another list, from the Allegany Reservation, adds **wétahkwaʔ** 'when the blossoms are on' after **kanóʔkat** and omits **jotho:h**. Other names are:

**wá:kaita:thəh** 'the road slopes this way and that' (as the sun melts the snow)

**kanähtokʔah** 'the end of the leaves'

Words for phases of the moon are:

**kaʔéhta:ʔ** 'new moon,' literally 'fingernail in (the sky)'

**wɛ:nítase:ʔ** 'new moon' (also **sawátähkwa:ɛʔ** 'the moon gets on it again')

**haʔtewɛ:nítəsh** 'middle of the moon'

**watɛ:nítótʔkthaʔ** 'end of the moon'

Words for seasons are:

**kəkwítekhneh** 'spring'

**kəhé:neh** or **kakéhoteʔ** 'summer'

**koshé:neh** or **yoshä:teʔ** 'winter' (the latter also 'year')

### Length

The following words are used in measuring length:

(ska:t) joyóhkä:t '1 inch,' literally 'one thumb'

(tekhni:) teyóyóhkä:ke:h '2 inches'

se niyóyóhkä:ke:h '3 inches' (etc.)

(ska:t) joʔε:no:t '1 yard,' literally 'one pole'

(tekhni:) teyóʔεno:ke:h '2 yards'

se niyóʔεno:ke:h '3 yards' (etc.)

(ska:t) jóaʔa:t '1 rod, pace'

(tekhni:) teyóaʔa:ke:h '2 paces'

se niyóaʔa:ke:h '3 paces' (etc.)

ska:t heyótkathweh '1 mile,' literally 'as far as can be seen'

tekhni: heyótkathweh '2 miles' (etc.)

### Volume

Some measures of volume are:

kanɔ:tsi:h 'quart,' literally 'small basketful'

skaʔa:tsi:h 'bushel,' literally 'basketful'

### C. Colors

Two verb stems that may be used to refer to specific colors are -ke:εt 'be light-colored, white' and -aji:h 'be dark-colored, black':

kake:εt 'it is white'

kanóhsake:εt 'white house'

wa:ji:h 'it is black'

ʔóäʔtaji:h 'black feather'

A number of other words contain the stem -ʔε:ʔ 'be the color of':

tkwéhtä:ʔε:ʔ 'red' (origin uncertain)

ʔoʔshéäʔε:ʔ 'purple, the color of sokes'

jítkwä:ʔε:ʔ 'yellow, the color of bile'

je:stáʔε:ʔ 'black, the color of charcoal'

ʔoʔké:ʔε:ʔ 'gray, the color of ashes'

ʔoiskwanyéʔtaʔε:ʔ 'brown, the color of rotten wood'

Other words used to express color are kanähtaikhɔʔ 'green' and ji:nyóaeʔ 'blue.'

Shades may be indicated by one of the two stems mentioned first above: ʔotkwéhtä:ji:h 'dark red.' Approximation to a color may be shown by the diminutive suffix: ʔoʔké:ʔε:ʔɔh 'grayish.'

## D. Biological Terms

### Plants and Animals

Both plants and animals may be classified as either **kanyo:ʔ** 'wild' or **kashe:neʔ** 'cultivated, domestic.'

Roughly according to its size, a wild plant may be one of the following:

**ʔoʔéoh̥taʔ** 'weed, herb'

**ʔoyo:wəʔ** 'tall weed'

**ʔoskawayeʔ** 'bush'

**kä:it** or **ka:ɔtaʔ** 'tree'

A grove is **kaha:to:t** and a forest **kaha:taʔ**. Further names for animals and plants will be found in 2C (p. 32), 2E (p. 34), and especially 4G (p. 49).

### Body Parts

The following are the names of some body parts:

**ʔoníʔε:ʔ** 'head'

**ʔakékeʔäʔ** 'my hair'

**kekéʔjaʔkeh** '(on) my forehead'

**keká:ʔkeh** '(on) my eyes'

**ʔokahkwéohsaʔ** 'eyebrows'

**kekótaʔkeh** '(on) my nose'

**káɔhtaʔ** 'my ear'

**katahoskwáʔkeh** '(on) my cheeks'

**kehsáka:et** 'my mouth'

**keskwá:ʔkeh** '(on) my lips'

**ʔonóʔjaʔ** 'tooth'

**kaʔnóhsaʔkeh** '(on) my tongue'

**kyoʔháʔkeh** '(on) my chin, jaw'

**ke:nyáʔsaʔkeh** '(on) my neck, throat'

**kenyá:ʔkeh** '(on) my neck, collar'

**khnehsáʔkeh** '(on) my shoulder'

**khnešaʔ** 'my arm'

**khyostâ:ʔkeh** '(on) my elbow'

**khnešóʔkwaʔ** 'my wrist'

**kesʔóhtaʔ** 'my hand'

**käkwáhtaʔkeh** '(on) my palm, sole'

**keʔnyaʔ** 'my finger'

**kyohkâ:ʔkeh** '(on) my thumb'

**ʔakéʔehtaʔ** 'my fingernail'

**keʔtóhsäʔkeh** '(on) my chest'

keswé<sup>2</sup>nó<sup>2</sup>keh ' (on) my back'  
 keswa<sup>2</sup> 'my rib cage'  
 ʔakhnó<sup>2</sup>kwa<sup>2</sup>keh ' (on) my breasts, lungs'  
 ʔoshé:wa<sup>2</sup> 'belly'  
 ʔotkwísta<sup>2</sup> 'stomach'  
 ʔoksó:we<sup>2</sup> 'intestines'  
 ʔakéthwehsa<sup>2</sup> 'my liver'  
 ʔokáhkwe<sup>2</sup>nó<sup>2</sup> 'kidney'  
 kanä<sup>2</sup> 'penis'  
 ʔoyáhké<sup>2</sup>ta<sup>2</sup> 'head of the penis'  
 ke<sup>2</sup>hóhsa<sup>2</sup>keh ' (on) my testicles'  
 ka:né:é<sup>2</sup> 'vagina'  
 ʔo:nó<sup>2</sup>sha<sup>2</sup> 'buttocks'  
 ʔo<sup>2</sup>yáka:et 'anus'  
 kejísko<sup>2</sup>kwá<sup>2</sup>keh ' (on) my hip'  
 kahsi:nó<sup>2</sup> 'leg'  
 kyahtá<sup>2</sup>keh ' (on) my thigh'  
 kóshá<sup>2</sup>keh ' (on) my knee'  
 kejio<sup>2</sup>kwá<sup>2</sup>keh ' (on) my ankle'  
 kahsí<sup>2</sup>ta<sup>2</sup> 'my foot'  
 khyakwi:yä<sup>2</sup> 'my toe'

## E. Cosmographic Terms

### Geological Features

yəejate<sup>2</sup> 'the earth, land'  
 ʔonó:ta<sup>2</sup> 'hill'  
 yoäko:h 'valley, bottom land'  
 ʔóehta<sup>2</sup> 'soil'  
 ʔo<sup>2</sup>néhsa<sup>2</sup> 'sand'  
 ka<sup>2</sup>skwa:a<sup>2</sup> 'stone'  
 kasté:te<sup>2</sup> 'cliff, rock bank'  
 kehó:te<sup>2</sup> 'river, stream'  
 kanyotae<sup>2</sup> 'lake'  
 kanyoteowaneh 'ocean,' literally 'big lake'

### Points of the Compass

ʔothówe<sup>2</sup>keh 'north,' literally 'where it is cold'  
 tkä:hkwitkə<sup>2</sup>s 'east,' literally 'where the sun rises'  
 ʔonénó<sup>2</sup>keh 'south,' literally 'where it is warm'; also ʔetyék-kwa:h  
 or ʔtyék-kwa:h  
 hekä:hkwe<sup>2</sup>s 'west,' literally 'where the sun sets'



### Meteorological Phenomena

**kä:ha?** 'the wind is blowing'

**?ohj?ke?** 'it's cloudy'

**?ostə?tyə:h** 'it's raining'

**?osta:a?** 'rain'

**?o?kyə:tyə:h** 'it's snowing'

**?o?kä?** 'snow' (in the air)

**?oni:ya?** 'snow' (on the ground)

**?o?néyostə:tyə:h** 'it's hailing'

**?o?néyosta?** 'hail' (also 'hominy grains')

**?owisyə:tyə:h** 'it's sleeting'

**?owi:sä?** 'ice' (also 'butter')

**kashatətye?s** 'it's misting'

**?osha:ta?** 'mist, fog'

**?o?twéniho?** 'lightning flashed'

**?o?káyə?kyə:?** 'lightning struck'

**hatiwenotatyə?s** 'thunder'

**?o?ha:ot** 'rainbow'

**?o?twátəyə:yatyə?nyə:?** 'aurora borealis,' literally 'the sky became abnormal'

### Astronomical Phenomena

Both the sun and the moon are referred to with the one word **kä:hkwa:?**, literally 'the sun or moon is in it' (that is, in the sky). Which of the two is meant can be specified by preceding the above word with **?ete:kha:?** 'diurnal' or **sékhə:?** 'nocturnal.' Names for phases of the moon can be found on p. 39. An eclipse is called **?ekä:hkwáhtə?t** 'the sun or moon will disappear.' A star is **?ojíhsə?ta?**. Names of particular stars and constellations are: **keté?wi:tha?** 'morning star,' literally 'it leads the meadow'; **nyakwai? tethakəswá?ha:?** 'north star' [?], literally 'bear sticking his nose out'; **nyakwai? hatíshe?** 'Ursa Major,' literally 'they're chasing a bear'; **hatítkwa?ta:?** 'the Pleiades'

## 4. Material Culture

### A. Ceremonial Equipment

#### Musical Instruments

A general word for an instrument that is used to accompany

singing is *yɔtɛnotáhkwaʔ* 'people use it to sing with.' *yɔtɛnotahkwaʔshɔʔɔh* (HCC) is specifically plural.

Rattles. The general word for rattle is *kastáwɛʔsäʔ* or *kastówɛʔsäʔ*. It may be qualified in various, not entirely standardized ways to specify a particular type of rattle:

*ʔonɔʔkäʔ* *kastáwɛʔsäʔ* 'horn rattle'

*ʔosnoʔ* *kastáwɛʔsäʔ* 'bark rattle'

*ʔo:nyáʔsaʔ* *kastáwɛʔsäʔ* 'squash or gourd rattle'

*ʔo:nyɔhsaʔ* *kastáwɛʔsäʔ* (identical with the preceding)

*yíʔtosthaʔ* *kastáwɛʔsäʔ* (also identical with the two preceding)

*káistatkos* *kastáwɛʔsäʔ* 'tin rattle'

*ʔo:nyóʔkwaʔ* *kastáwɛʔsäʔ* 'nut rattle' (HCC, p. 287, referring to a coconut rattle)

A rattle made from a turtle is called *kaʔno:waʔ*. This word may be qualified as:

*kanyáhte:h* *kaʔno:waʔ* 'snapping turtle rattle' ('great turtle rattle'—HCC)

*kaʔtya:skwaʔ* or *kaʔja:skwaʔ* *kaʔno:waʔ* 'box turtle rattle'

*yɔthɔwisáthaʔ* *kaʔno:waʔ* (identical with the preceding)

Drums. There are two names in common use for the 'water drum' ('drum, tom-tom'—RE):

*kaʔnóhko:ɔh*, literally 'covered keg'

*kanɔʔjo:ɔh* [*gá-no-jo'-o*—LHM], literally 'covered bucket'

There is no separate designation for the somewhat larger drum ('big water drum'—HCC) used in the *ʔohki:we:h* ceremony (p. 33), but it may be distinguished by the addition of *ʔohki:we:* before one of the above words. A drumstick is called *yeʔnóhkwaʔésthaʔ*, literally 'people use it for striking the keg.'

Other musical instruments include:

*kaʔhnyaʔ* 'stick, club' ('stamping stick, tempo beater'—HCC)

*kaʔwástaʔ* 'stick' (identical with the preceding)

*ʔatáʔtishäʔ* 'cane'

*ka:nóʔskäʔ* 'notches' ('rasping sticks'—HCC)

*kashéwɛʔtaʔ* 'bells, sleigh bells'

*káʔkɛ:taʔ* 'flute' ('Indian flute'—HCC)

*ye:ɔʔtáwasthaʔ* 'flute' ('white man's flute'—HCC)

*yéɔʔtasthaʔ* 'flute,' literally 'people use it for blowing'

## Other Ceremonial Equipment

**kakóhsa?** 'false-face'

**kajíhsa?** 'husk-face'

**?oyé?kwa?** 'tobacco'

**?oyé?kwa??:weh** 'Indian tobacco' (*Nicotiana rustica*)

**?oyε:ε?** 'bead, wampum'

**?otkóä?** or **?otkó?ä?** 'wampum string'

**kaswéhta?** 'wampum belt'

**kaji:sta?** 'wampum,' literally 'ember, light'

**kajístakweni:yo?** 'the main wampum,' specifically that kept at Tonawanda to validate the Handsome Lake religion

**kaneshatíyotáhkwa?** 'tally stick' with attached wampum ('invitation wampum'—RE), literally 'used for extending the arm'

**ka:nó?skeot?** (identical with the preceding), literally 'notches on it'

**kané?ä?** 'Eagle Dance fan, feather stick'

**ka:yá?ehta?** 'Eagle Dance pole'

**yene?kwä: ?estha? ka?hnya?** 'Eagle Dance striking stick'

**kanóhse:s** 'longhouse' (**kanóhseskeh** 'at the longhouse')

**yekhónya?tha?** 'cookhouse,' literally 'they use it for making food'

**kaji?ka:ye:s** 'bench,' literally 'long chair'

## B. Clothing and Costume Components

**?asyónyashä?** 'clothing'

**?oswa:te:h** 'woman's costume'

**kehikwa:a?** 'hat'

**wáosha?** 'cap'

**kasto:wä?** [*gus-to'-weh*—LHM] 'headdress'

**kayahtowé?shä?** 'pants'

**ka?kha:a?** [*gä-ka'-ah*—LHM] 'skirt'

**káishä?** [*gise'-ha*—LHM] 'leggings'

**?atya?tawí?shä?** [*ah-de-a-dä-we-sä*—LHM] 'overdress, smock'

**ka:wáhashä?** 'belt' (worn around waist)

**teyóthwahástha?** (identical with the preceding)

**kakéhta?** [*gä-geh'-tä*—LHM] 'belt' (worn over shoulder and around waist)

**?atotä:?** 'shoulder belt, suspenders'

**kaké?ta?** (worn on upper part of leg, with high boots attached to it)

**tewatsihásyo??:?** 'garters'

**kayó:wah** 'moccasin'

ʔahtáhkwa? 'shoe'

ʔahtáhkwaʔɔ:weh [ah-tä-quä-o'-weh—LHM] 'native shoe, moccasin'

yeneshahástha? [yeu-nis-hä-hos-ta—LHM] 'arm band'

yeneshoʔkwáhashtha? [yen-nis-ho-quä-hos-tä — LHM] 'wrist band'

yɔtsinohástha? [yen-che-no-hos-ta-tä—LHM] 'leg band'

ʔotsinonohká:ʔ (identical with the preceding)

ʔaʔwáshä:ʔ [ah-was-ha—LHM] 'earring'

ʔɛʔnyáhashä? [ah-ne-a-hus-ha—LHM] 'finger ring'

yenihtyastha? 'necklace'

yothwistaniyɔtáhkwa? [out-wis-tä-ne-un-dä-quä—LHM] 'silver beads, pendants'

ʔɛ:nyáskä:ʔ [an-ne-äs-ga—LHM] 'brooch'

ʔoʔówaʔah (a brooch shape), literally 'like an owl'

teyóewɛ:ke:h (another brooch shape), literally 'two wires'

## C. Basketry

### Materials and Components

kanyoh 'white ash' (*Fraxinus americana*)

yɛtakwæ:sɔs 'black ash' (*Fraxinus nigra*)

kakáʔta? 'white oak' (*Quercus alba*)

kóhso:ʔ 'red maple, soft maple' (*Acer rubrum*)

ʔononoka:aʔ 'hickory' (*Carya ovata*)

jistaké:ɛʔ (identical with the preceding)

jokä:ka:s (identical with the two preceding)

ʔo:wéʔkä:ʔ 'splint, wood as a material'

ʔohsóhkwa? 'paint, dye'

keʔtɔ:wɛʔ 'bottom, base'

tekeʔtowéʔse:ʔ 'double bottom'

yothwatasétha? literally 'people use it to go around' ('flexible with, weft element'—ML)

teyɔʔɛnó:hkwa? literally 'people use it for putting the stick on' ('inner rim splint'—ML)

ʔaste:kha:ʔ 'outer part' ('outer rim splint'—ML)

ʔoʔnowɛɔnyɔʔ 'flat curls,' literally 'bugs (?) in it'

ʔojíʔsyɔyo:tɔʔ 'peaked curls,' literally 'standing curls'

### Techniques

yɔ:wéʔke:ɔnih 'they are making splints'

ye:wéʔkä:tokéstha? 'they are straightening out the splints' ('trimming'—ML)

yɔ:wé?kă:ke:tas 'they are scraping the splints'  
 tɛhsata?énɔɛ? 'you will hem the top,' literally 'put on the stick'  
 tɛwa?énó:ɔk 'it will be hemmed'

### Types

ka?áshä? [*gase-ha*—LHM] 'basket'  
 yā:hkwa? 'container'  
 yɔtɛnɔ?shā:hkwa? 'food basket'  
 ye?nístă:hkwa? 'corn basket'  
 yenonɔ?tă:hkwa? 'potato basket'  
 yestakwă:tahkwa? 'dirty clothes basket, hamper'  
 yenóhtă:hkwa? 'comb basket'  
 ye?nikhɔshā:hkwa? 'sewing basket'  
 yɔtkéhtastha? 'pack basket'  
 ye?nistánéhkwiſtha?, literally 'they use it for bringing in the corn'  
 yɔtashe?nótahkwa? 'basket attached at the waist for planting or berry picking,' literally 'they put a lump on them'  
 yekaehtowă:?tha? 'corn washing basket, hulling basket'  
 yewɔ:ktha? 'sifter, sieve'  
 yɔ?ké:wɔ:ktha? 'ash sifter'  
 ?o?néyostowanɛs 'hominy sifter,' literally 'big grains'  
 ?onɔ:shă? 'small corn husk basket'  
 kashé?ta? [*gos-ha'-dă*—LHM] 'bottle, jug'  
 yejikhe?tă:hkwa? 'salt container, salt bottle'  
 watáshaenɛ?s 'drop handle basket'  
 teka?ashā:ɔh 'cross basket'

### Other Basketry Terms

kasha:a? 'halter, strap, burden strap'  
 kanóhsɔta:a? (identical with the preceding)  
 ye?ásyohka:tha? 'basket medicine, agrimony' (*Agrimonia gryposepala*), literally 'they sprinkle baskets with it'  
 ha?no:wa? óishă? 'pitcher plant' (*Sarracenia purpurea*), literally 'turtle's leggings' (trapped water used as basket medicine)

### D. Agricultural and Cooking Implements

?ato:ke? 'ax' (cf. ?a?skwíhsa? p. 48)  
 ye:htakahathwátha? 'plow,' literally 'they use it to turn over the soil'  
 yakókwatha? 'digging tool'

káshjishä? 'hoe'  
 yeyéthwatha? 'planting tool'  
 yetáhkwa? '(corn) crib,' literally 'they put things in it'  
 yenowiyá?ktha? 'husking pin'  
 ka?nékahta? [*gä-ne'-gä-ta*—LHM] 'mortar'  
 hetkε:kha:? 'pestle,' literally 'upper part'  
 yethé?tahkwa? (identical with the preceding), literally 'they use it for pounding'  
 yoteka?táhkwa? 'fire-making tool'  
 ?oksa? 'dish'  
 kaje? [*ga-jih*—LHM] 'bowl'  
 ka:owə? 'tray' (also 'boat')  
 kanə?ja? 'kettle, pot'  
 kanə?jowa:neh 'big kettle'  
 kanə?ja?weh 'old-fashioned Indian kettle'  
 yeshe?nyá?tha? 'dough-making bowl'  
 ?atókwa?shä? 'spoon, ladle'  
 ?atókwa?syowanεh 'big spoon'  
 katkónya?shä? [*got'-go-ne-os-ha*—LHM] 'ladle, paddle, stirring implement'  
 yetkónya?tha? (identical with the preceding)  
 katkónya?syowanεh 'big ladle'  
 nikatkonya?shə?á:h 'small ladle'  
 kaksikwä:? 'fork'  
 kakánya?shä? 'knife'

## E. Weapons

?a?skwíhsa? 'ax, tomahawk'  
 ?o?skwíhsə:t [*o-sque'-sont*—LHM; identical with the preceding]  
 kají:wa? [*gä-je'-wä*—LHM] 'hammer, war club'  
 kanə?kéotashä? [*ga-ne-u'-ga-o-dus-ha*—LHM] 'horn war club'  
 ka?no? [*gä'-no*—LHM] 'arrow'  
 wa?ε:no? [*wä-a'-no*—LHM] 'bow' (also 'pole, stick')  
 ka?ta:shä? [*gä-däs-ha*—LHM] 'quiver, sheaf'

## F. Other Artifacts

kε:wε:? 'wire, needle, nail'  
 tewatyawεkótha? 'needle'  
 ye:wé:tahkwa? [*ya-wa-o-dä-quä*—LHM] 'needle book'  
 ye:wéotahkwa? [*yä-wä-o-dä-quä*—LHM] 'pincushion'

- ʔojɔtkä:ʔ 'hook, hanger'  
 kastɔʔshäʔ 'fishhook'  
 yɔʔkáhtahkwaʔ 'punch'  
 teyɔʔistáhkwäʔ 'drill'  
 teyekesyɔʔthaʔ 'scraper'  
 yɔhkeokwáthaʔ [*uh'-ga-o-gwät'-hä*—LHM] 'chisel,' literally  
     'they use it to scatter chips'  
 yɔtkétathaʔ '(back) scratcher'  
 yejistɔtáhkwäʔ 'lamp'  
 teyestä:theʔtáhkwäʔ 'polish'  
 kayáʔtaʔ 'doll'  
 ʔashókwahtaʔ [*ah-so-quä'-tä*—LHM] 'pipe'  
 teye:weʔkeotáhkwäʔ 'snowshoe, ski,' literally 'they use the wood  
     for standing upright'  
 yeʔnikɔhsákehta:sthaʔ 'frame for carrying a large object on  
     one's back'  
 ʔatátahkwäʔ [*ah-dä'-dä-quä*—LHM] 'saddle,' literally 'used for  
     getting on'  
 ʔatyáʔtota:aʔ (identical with the preceding), literally 'it's put  
     over its body'  
 yɔke:shäʔ or yɔke:shäʔ [*yun-ga'-sa*—LHM] 'pocket'  
 katkwéʔtaʔ [*got-kwen-dä*—LHM] 'pocketbook'  
 yeyéʔkwata:hkwäʔ 'tobacco pouch'  
 káɔhkä:ʔ 'rope'  
 ka:wáhashäʔ [*gä-swä-hos-hä* [? ]—LHM] 'band'  
 kajíhsaʔ 'husk mat' (also 'husk-face'; cf. p. 45)  
 keska:aʔ 'sleeping mat'  
 yɔtyä:téhtä:hkwäʔ 'mattress,' literally 'bag for laying out flat'  
 ʔi:yo:s 'blanket'  
 ka:nyáʔkhaɔʔ 'quilt,' literally 'put together piece by piece'  
 kakɔʔsäʔ 'pillow'  
 ka:ɔyɔ:t 'swing, hammock, cradle,' literally 'attached boat'  
 ka:wɔni:yɔ:t (identical with the preceding), literally 'hanging  
     boat'  
 ka:ɔwɔʔ 'boat' (also 'tray'; cf. p. 48)

## G. Foods

The following are general terms referring to food:

- kakhwaʔ 'food'  
 tyɔhéhkɔh [*de-o-ha'-ko*—LHM] 'our sustenance, our life sup-  
     porters' ('the vegetables'—RE), literally 'what we live on'  
     (referring to corn, beans, and squash)

### Corn (*Zea mays*)

The generic word for corn is ʔonéʔ, which may also refer to the kernel. Other parts of the corn plant are:

ʔoeäʔ 'cornstalk'

ʔojiʔjo:t 'tassle,' literally 'standing tassle'

ʔojiʔjo:aʔ (identical with the preceding), literally 'tassle on the end'

ʔokyo:t 'corn silk' (protruding from husk)

ʔokāʔāh 'corn silk' (inside husk)

ʔojówohsaʔ 'corn leaf'

ʔo:wéʔtaʔ 'ear with husk'

ʔoʔnístaʔ 'ear without husk but with kernels'

ʔonóhkwaʔeʔ or ʔonóhkweʔeʔ 'ear without kernels, corncob'

ʔono:nyaʔ 'husk'

ʔo:ateʔ 'row of kernels' (also 'road')

ʔokójiʔtaʔ 'corn pollen' (ACP)

ʔokáehtaʔ 'hull'

The following varieties of corn are named (botanical classifications are from ACP):

ʔonéʔke:et [o-na-o'-ga-ant—LHM] 'white corn' ('Tuscarora or squaw corn'—ACP; *Zea mays amylacea* 'soft corn')

héhko:wa:h [ha-go'-wä—LHM] 'calico or hominy corn' (*Zea mays indurata* 'flint corn')

ʔoné:hsáhkwaʔ or ʔoné:hsóhkwaʔ 'popcorn' (*Zea mays everta*)  
wahtatókwes (identical with the preceding), literally 'it bursts'

ʔonéʔo:weh 'old-fashioned or native corn' ('sacred corn'—ACP; *Zea mays tunicata* 'pod corn')

ʔonéʔjiʔ 'black or dark corn' (variety uncertain)

Aside from specific food preparations, corn may be found in the following conditions:

ʔosäʔah 'green corn'

ʔoji:kwes 'corn smut' (also 'venereal disease')

ʔotkiʔ onéʔ 'foul or decayed corn'

ʔonéʔkwe:koh 'whole corn'

ʔoʔnéyostaʔ 'cracked corn, hominy grains'

ʔostéʔsäʔ 'braided corn'

The following terms are related to the growing and initial preparation of corn:

kané:okweʔ 'seed corn'



ʔostísta:neʔ (*Hystrix patula*) (FWW), a corn medicine, 'bottle-brush grass'  
 kahsáʔkɛ:taʔ (*Phragmites communis*) (FWW), another corn medicine, 'common reed'  
 hatiʔnisté:es 'they are gathering, picking corn'  
 hatinowi:yaʔs 'they are husking corn'  
 hatinonyo:thaʔ 'they are pulling back the husk' (for braiding)  
 ʔono:nyo:t 'the husk is pulled back'  
 hatístɛʔsyo:nih 'they are braiding corn'  
 hatikáehtawa:s 'they are winnowing it,' literally 'sifting the hulls'

Corn preparations have the following names:

ʔonó:hkwaʔ '(hulled) corn soup'  
 ʔoné:ʔtaʔ 'burnt or roasted corn soup'  
 ʔokɔ:säʔ 'baked corn'  
 ʔokɔsäkiʔ 'baked corn soup'  
 kakɔsäki:ʔta:ʔ 'fried baked corn'  
 ʔoʔnéyosta:kiʔ 'cracked corn soup' ('corn soup liquor, samp'—ACP)  
 ʔoshɔwɛ:ʔ 'corn pudding' (ACP), 'parched corn' (MRH), 'false-face mush' (RE)  
 ʔojískwaʔ or ʔoji:skwaʔ 'mush, pudding'  
 ʔoshɔwɛ:ʔ ʔojískwaʔ 'parched corn mush' (MRH)  
 kakóhsaʔ ʔojískwaʔ 'false-face mush' (cf. ʔoshɔwɛ:ʔ)  
 kajískwaʔe:ʔ ʔojískwaʔ 'ball players' mush'  
 ʔonotä:ʔ 'hominy'  
 ʔohó:staʔ 'dumpling'  
 ʔoʔnistakáʔɔh 'good tasting corn' ('boiled green corn'—ACP)  
 ʔonóʔkhwishäʔ 'boiled and sweetened corn'  
 ʔonyáhjiʔtaʔ 'corn cooked in husk, tamale'  
 kaʔnístɛʔta:ʔ 'corn roasted on open fire'  
 ʔojéɔʔtaʔ (identical with the preceding)  
 watéʔskɔ:tak 'it's been baked'  
 watéʔje:ɔtak (identical with the preceding)  
 ʔä:hkwaʔ 'bread'  
 ká:hkɔ:tak 'baked bread'  
 ká:hkok 'boiled bread'  
 kakaehtéhtaʔ or kakaehtéhtɔh 'corn bread'  
 ka:hkwakí:ʔta:ʔ 'ghost bread,' literally 'fried bread'  
 kanɛthéhtɔh 'early bread,' literally 'pounded corn'  
 ʔothéʔshäʔ 'flour'  
 ʔonéɔʔ ʔo:nɔʔ 'corn oil'

## Beans

The generic word for 'bean' is **?osáe?ta?** [*o-si-dä*—LHM]. Most or all belong to the genus *Phaseolus*, but they have not been further identified. Names for kinds of beans are:

**ha:yok** 'Roman or cockleberry bean' (RE)

**teká:ka:ha:t**, literally 'it lies with legs outspread'

**?awé:ta:koh** literally 'deep-colored flower' ('purple kidney'—ACP)

**?osáe?take:et** 'white bean'

**?otikohsó:a?**, literally 'their heads are on the end of a stick'

**?óeä?ke:kha:?** 'cornstalk variety'

**káiske?se:?** 'sparrow'

**tyothowetoh** 'hummingbird'

**?otkówə?sa:a?** 'string bean'

Other classifications of beans are:

**yo?énotha?** 'pole bean,' literally 'they set up a pole'

(cf. **yo?enotáhkwa?** 'bean pole,' literally 'they use it for setting up a pole')

**?onósä?ah** 'soft or young beans'

Bean preparations are:

**?osáe?ta:ki?** 'bean soup'

**?ojískwa?** 'mush,' made from beans as well as corn

## Squash

The generic term for *Cucurbitaceae* is **?o:nyóhsa?**. The following kinds are distinguished:

**?o:nyá?sa?** 'crookneck squash,' literally 'neck'

**?o:nyóhsa?ə:weh** 'scalloped squash,' literally 'native or Indian squash'

**?oshé?to:t** 'Hubbard squash,' literally 'navel'

**?o?yáka:et** [*o-gä-gä-ind*—LHM (?)] 'gray squash' (LHM), literally 'anus'

**?o:nyóskwä:e?** 'cucumber'

**?o:nyóhsowa:nəh** 'pumpkin,' literally 'big squash'

**?o:nyóhsatkos** 'watermelon' (*Citrullus vulgaris*), literally 'raw squash'

**wa:ya:is** 'muskmelon' (*Cucumis melo*), literally 'the fruit ripens'

Another related term is **?o?óhsa?** 'vine.' Squash preparations are:

**ka:nyóhsok** 'boiled squash'

**waté:nyóhsó:tak** 'baked squash'

### Other Cultivated Plants

**?oktéá?** 'carrot' (*Daucus carota*), 'beet' (*Beta vulgaris*), 'turnip' (*Brassica rapa*), literally 'root'

**?onónó?ta?** 'potato'

**?o?nóhsa?** 'onion' (*Allium sp.*)

**?aweto?ké:a?** 'pea' (*Pisum sp.*)

### Fruits

The generic term for fruit or berry is **?oji:ya?** or, less commonly, **?o:ya?**. Kinds of fruits are:

**?o:ya:ji?** 'blueberry' ('huckleberry' — RE) (*Vaccinium sp.*), literally 'dark berry'

**kehtá?ke:a?** 'high bush blueberry' (*Vaccinium sp.*)

**nohkwakái?ni?** 'low bush blueberry' (*Vaccinium sp.*)

**(?o)jístótá?shä?** 'strawberry' (*Fragaria sp.*) literally 'embers on it'

**shés?a:h** 'small wild strawberry' (*Fragaria sp.*)

**takwá?tä:ne?** 'raspberry' (*Rubus sp.*)

**thóta?któ?** 'black raspberry' (*Rubus occidentalis*), literally 'bent stem'

**?otkä:shä?** 'blackberry' (*Rubus sp.*)

**?onó:shä?** 'thimbleberry' (*Rubus sp.*)

**jo?ä:ka? wa:ya:s** 'gooseberry' (*Ribes sp.*), literally 'raccoon eats the berries'

**ka?néhsa?** 'nannyberry' (*Viburnum lentago*)

**?osháista? wa:ya:s** 'partridgeberry' (*Mitchella repens*), literally 'snake eats the berries'

**?e:i?** 'wild cherry' (*Prunus serotina*)

**kanojóhkwane?** 'fire cherry' (*Prunus pennsylvanica*)

**teyakonyá?thä:?s** 'chokecherry' (*Prunus virginiana*), literally 'it chokes people'

**ké:eh** 'plum' (*Prunus sp.*)

**kanya?ó:ya?** 'apple' (*Pyrus sp.*)

**jóikto:wa?** 'wild crab apple,' literally 'great thorn'

**káehtä:e?** 'peach' (*Prunus persica*), literally 'fuzz on it'

A fruit preparation is ʔo:ya:kiʔ 'berry water,' used for ceremonial purposes.

### Nuts

The word for 'nut' is ʔo:nyóʔkwaʔ. Kinds of nuts are:

jo:nyóʔkwe:s 'butternut' (*Juglans cinerea*), literally 'long nut'  
jo:nyóʔkwa:k 'black walnut' (*Juglans nigra*), literally 'let it eat  
the nut'

ʔononoka:aʔ, jistaké:εʔ, jokä:ka:s 'hickory' (*Carya ovata*; cf. p. 46)

ʔo:nyóʔkwajiwakeh 'bitter nut (hickory),' (*Carya cordiformis*)

ʔo:nyéʔstaʔ 'chestnut' (*Castanea dentata*)

ʔohsówiʔshäʔ 'hazelnut' (*Corylus sp.*)

ʔoskëʔεʔ 'beechnut' (*Fagus grandifolia*)

ʔoko:wäʔ 'acorn' (*Quercus sp.*)

### Other Plant Foods

ʔo:nyókwíʔsäʔ 'grape' (*Vitis sp.*)

ʔono:skäʔ 'milkweed' (*Asclepias sp.*)

ʔotkóʔtaʔ 'sumac' (*Rhus sp.*)

### Meat

The word for 'meat' is ʔoʔwá:ʔ. Other terms are:

ʔoʔwá:se:ʔ 'fresh meat'

ʔoyéʔkwä:ikəh 'smoked (meat)'

ʔojíkheʔta:eʔ 'salted (meat)'

ʔəhjíʔä:ʔ 'fried meat'

ʔo:nəʔ 'fat, grease, lard'

### Mammals

neokeʔ 'deer' (*Odocoileus virginianus*)

nyakwaiʔ 'bear' (*Ursus americanus*)

nəkanyáʔkəh 'beaver' (*Castor canadensis*), literally 'twig cutter'

se:nə:h 'skunk' (*Mephitis mephitis*)

théhto:əʔ 'woodchuck' (*Marmota monax*)

jínótakaʔ 'muskrat' (*Ondatra zibethica*)

jíoʔta:kaʔ 'mink' (*Mustela vison*)

joʔä:kaʔ 'raccoon' (*Procyon lotor*)

kwaʔyo:ʔ 'rabbit' (*Sylvilagus floridanus*)

thətaye:t 'hare' (*Lepus americanus*)

jokta:kəʔ 'gray or black squirrel' (*Sciurus carolinensis*)

**joni:skyɔ:t** 'red squirrel' (*Tamiasciurus hudsonicus*)  
**tha:wa:sɔ:t** 'flying squirrel' (*Glaucomys sp.*)  
**kiskwi:s** 'pig' (*Sus scrofa*)  
**tyó:skwaɔt** 'cow' (*Bos taurus*)  
**ji:yäh** 'dog' (*Canis familiaris*)

### Birds

A 'bird' is called **jiʔtéʔɔ:ʔ**. Among the edible birds are:

**so:wäk** 'duck'  
**hɔka:k** 'goose'  
**ʔoʔo:wa:ʔ** 'owl'  
**johkwéʔaniʔ** 'ruffed grouse' (*Bonasa umbellus*)  
**kóhkwaɪʔ** 'quail'  
**nɔʔjahkweʔ** 'woodcock, snipe'  
**jako:ki:h** 'blackbird'  
**tistis** 'woodpecker'  
**tyó:yaik** 'robin' (*Turdus migratorius*)  
**tekáyahtowanes** 'meadowlark' (*Sturnella magna*), literally 'big thighs'  
**jä:hko:wa:ʔ** 'pigeon,' literally 'great bread' (evidently because of the shape of its tail)  
**ʔoʔsó:ɔt** 'turkey' (*Meleagris gallopavo*), literally 'pine on it'  
**takā:ʔε:ʔ** 'chicken' (*Gallus gallus*)

### Fish

The word for 'fish' is **kejɔh**. Among the edible fish are:

**tya:wε:h** 'trout'  
**kashéstaʔ** 'sturgeon' (*Acipenser sp.*)  
**kaho:skwa:h** 'dace'  
**jotä:tɔʔ** 'bass'  
**joka:tkεʔ** 'pike' (*Esox sp.*)  
**katke:shäʔ** (identical with the preceding), literally 'handle' (as an ax handle)  
**jikóhse:s** 'great northern pike' (*Esox lucius*), or 'pickerel' (*Esox sp.*), literally 'long face'  
**káisehtaʔ** 'hammerhead' (*Hypentelium nigricans*)

### Other Animal Foods

**ʔokɔ:staʔ** 'clam, oyster'  
**ʔonɔhsakéhteʔ** 'snail,' literally 'house on its back'  
**skoʔäk** 'frog'  
**haʔno:wa:h** 'turtle'  
**kanyáhte:h** 'snapping turtle' (*Chelydra serpentina*)

ʔojíʔehtaʔ 'crayfish, crab, lobster'

kané:iithaʔ 'locust, cicada'

ʔoʔhóhsaʔ 'egg'

ʔonóʔkwaʔ 'milk'

ʔowi:säʔ 'butter' (also 'ice')

### Other Foods

ʔowä:nóʔ 'maple sugar, sugar, candy'

kä:nó:nih 'honey'

ʔoshéstaʔ 'syrup, corn syrup'

ʔojíkheʔtaʔ 'salt'

teyósaeʔt ' (black) pepper'

ʔonähsaʔ 'fungus'

tewátʔeʔkweokwas 'puffball' (*Calvatia gigantea*), literally 'smoke scatters'

ʔaténo:shäʔ 'mushroom,' literally 'umbrella'

## 5. Names of People and Places

### A. Races and Tribes

Indians are called ʔákwéʔ:weh, literally 'real, genuine, native people.' A white man is ha:nyóʔh, in the plural hatí:nyóʔh. The Iroquois are hotínóhsó:ni:h, literally 'house builders.' Names for Iroquois tribes are:

(ʔo)notowáʔka:ʔ 'Seneca,' literally 'people of the big hill'

kayókwe:onoʔ 'Cayuga'

ʔonótaʔke:ka:ʔ 'Onondaga,' literally 'people on the hill'

néyotka:ʔ 'Oneida,' literally 'people of the standing rock'

kanyéʔke:onoʔ 'Mohawk,' literally 'people of the flint'

táske:oweʔ 'Tuscarora'

### B. Reservations

tyonóhsate:keh 'Cornplanter,' literally 'burned house'

ʔohi:yoʔ 'Allegany,' literally 'beautiful river'

kaʔtä:késkε:ʔ 'Cattaraugus,' literally 'formerly the chimney (clay?) smelled'

tha:nówteʔ 'Tonawanda,' literally 'his rapids are there'

swe:keʔ 'Grand River (Six Nations),' also 'Canada'; sweké:onoʔ 'person from Grand River or Canada'

taskéoweʔkeh 'Tuscarora'

ʔonótaʔkeh 'Onondaga,' literally 'on the hill'

**kanɔktiyóʔkeh** (identical with the preceding), literally 'at the good place'

**kanyéʔkeh** (any Mohawk reservation)

## C. Longhouses

### On the Allegany Reservation

**tyo:nekano:h** 'Coldspring,' literally 'cold water'

**tetyóteha:ʔktɔ:h** 'Horseshoe' (extinct), literally 'bent back upon itself, horseshoe curve'

### On the Cattaraugus Reservation

**tkanɔtase:ʔ** 'Newtown,' literally 'new town'

**ʔoʔsóäkɔ:h** 'Pinewoods' (extinct), literally 'in the pines'

**skeshɔ:tiḥ** 'Indian Hill' (extinct), literally 'beyond the creek'

**te:nɔtyeʔkwā:ʔhɔ:t** 'Sandy's Road' (extinct), literally 'their smokes are joined together' (said to have been called this because it was an amalgamation of two even older longhouses)

**taʔtewahkéɔtkeh** 'Cayuga Street' (extinct), literally 'without eaves'

### On the Tonawanda Reservation

**kanɔtakɔ:h**, literally 'in the town'

**ʔoʔsóäkɔ:h** 'Sand Hill' (extinct), literally 'in the pines'

## D. Important Cities and Towns

**tósyo:we:h** or **tetyó:syo:ke:h** 'Buffalo'

**ska:néhtatih** 'Albany,' literally 'beyond the plateau' (or 'pine')

**tyo:ɔkot** or **heyó:ɔkeh** 'Akron, N. Y.'

**jokɔwɔtiḥ** 'Gowanda,' literally 'beyond the ridge'

**tyoháteʔsyɔʔ** or **tyo:teokeʔ** 'Pittsburgh'

**ka:nɔwɔkɔ:h** 'Warren, Pa.,' literally 'in the rapids'

**tkanɔtayéʔko:wa:h** 'Philadelphia,' literally 'big town there'

## E. Important Individuals

**kayéthwahkeh** 'Cornplanter,' literally 'where it is planted' (?)

**shakóye:wa:thaʔ** 'Red Jacket,' literally 'he makes them look for it in vain'

**thé:wɔ:nyaʔs** 'Governor Blacksnake,' literally 'he breaks wire, nails'

**kayáhsothaʔ** 'Kyashota,' literally 'it stands up a cross'

**shosheowa:ʔ** [*sose-ha'-wä*—LHM] 'Great Burden Strap'

## 6. Supernatural Beings and Objects

The Supreme Being and his opposite number are referred to with the following words:

**hotyε:nóʔktaʔɔh** 'the Creator,' literally 'he has created it'; also

**hotyε:nóʔktaʔɔ hé tɔcheʔ** 'he has created our lives'

**haʔníkɔ:iyo:h** (identical with the preceding), literally 'his mind is good'

**hawəni:yoʔ** 'God' (the Christian term), literally 'his word is good' or possibly 'he is free'

**haʔníkɔ:etkεʔ** 'the Devil,' literally 'his mind is evil'

**shakoewáthaʔ** (identical with the preceding), literally 'he punishes people'

**haníshe:onoʔ** 'the Devil' (the Christian term), literally 'pit dweller'

Beings and objects frequently referred to in the calendrical ceremonies are:

**ke:i nienɔti:h** 'the Four Beings' ('Messengers, Angels')

**hatiɔyáʔke:onoʔ** (identical with the preceding), literally 'sky dwellers'

**ʔotáʔeoɔh** (the mythical source of the wind), literally 'it's covered by a veil'

**hatiwenotatyεʔs** 'the Thunderers,' literally 'they are spreading the word'

**hiʔnɔʔ** [*he'-no*—LHM] 'the Thunderer'

Supernatural beings associated with the noncalendrical medicine ceremonies include:

**jɔkâ:ɔʔ** or **jɔʔkâ:ɔʔ** 'little people, pygmies, dwarfs, elves'

**shakotyowéhkɔ:wa:h** (the false-face prototype), literally 'their great defender' (?)

**ʔoshataʔké:aʔ** 'Dew Eagle' (WNF), literally 'mist dweller'

Other mythological beings are:

**hathoʔ** 'Jack Frost' (RE), 'Frost God' (ACP)

**hoskeʔékéhtakɔ:wa:h** 'God of War' (ACP), literally 'great warrior'

**jáenɔsko:wa:h** 'Blue Lizard' (ACP)

**jiske:h** 'skeleton, ghost'

**jotéhkwatch** 'Great Horned Serpent' (ACP)

**káhkakɔ:wa:h** 'Giant Raven' (WNF)

**kanɔʔkwe:s** 'Big Breast'

**kasháistowanh** 'Big Snake' ('Horned Snake'—ACP)



- ká:syətye:thaʔ** 'Fire Beast' (ACP), also 'lion'  
**ke:nə:skwaʔ** 'Stone Giant,' literally 'it used to eat skin (or leather)'  
**nəkanyáʔkəh** 'White Beaver' (ACP), literally 'beaver'  
**nyáʔkwaehe:h** or **nyáʔkwaeheko:wa:h** 'Great Bear' (Great Naked Bear)—ACP  
**shakowe:nóaʔ** 'Tide Spirit' (ACP), literally 'he ferries people'  
**shakoʔtatáhkwas** 'He-Who-Eats-Inwards' (ACP), literally, 'he takes out people's feces'  
**shətowāhko:wa:h** 'Blue Panther' (ACP)  
**takwánəʔε:yət** 'Wind Spirit' (ACP), 'Flying Head' (RE), literally 'hit us with a head!'  
**tá:tahwat** or **táʔtahkwat** 'White Beaver' (ACP)  
**teotyáʔtyáʔkəh** 'Divided Body (Hail Spirit)' (ACP), literally 'his body is cut in two'  
**tetyoswinéhtəh** 'Spring God' (ACP), literally 'it has thawed'  
**tewathyawó:εʔs** (?) 'Exploding Wren' (ACP)  
**tháyatkwa:iʔ** (another mythical animal)  
**tó:nəʔka:es** 'Horned Snake' (ACP), literally 'he has long horns'  
**ʔoʔne:yə:t** 'Sharp-Legs' (ACP)  
**ʔoʔnówatkoʔ** 'Corn-Bug' (ACP), literally 'bug with evil power'  
**ʔoʔnya:the:h** 'Little Dry Hand' (ACP), literally 'dry hand'  
**ʔó:iʔ** (a mythical flying snake)

Power or strength, whether natural or supernatural, is **kaʔhásteshäʔ**. Evil power is **ʔotkoʔ**, and a witch is **hotkoʔ** if a man, **kotkoʔ** if a woman. **kaháih**, translated 'Will-of-the-Wisp' by ACP, refers to magical transformation, generally for an evil purpose.

## Abbreviations

The following abbreviations were used in the glossary to identify terminology associated with a particular source:

ACP	Arthur C. Parker
FWW	Frederick W. Waugh
HCC	Harold C. Conklin and William C. Sturtevant
LHM	Lewis H. Morgan
ML	Marjorie Lismer
MRH	Mark R. Harrington
RE	Reservation English
WNF	William N. Fenton

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Before the lapse of many years, the remnant of the Indian nations which now inhabit the state will experience the fate of all sublunary things. . . . The natural history of the man of America, . . . may still be obtained to a considerable extent; his language may be put on record, and his traditions may be perpetuated. De Witt Clinton, Memorial to the State Legislature, 1814.

